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*Allinari*

HEAD OF ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO. FROM THE FRIESCO BY FILIPPINO  
LIPPI IN THE BRANCACCI CHAPPEL, CARMINE, FLORENCE

*Frontispiece*

# ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO

BY

MAUD CRUTTWELL



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1907



ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO

Born 1432    Died 1498

PIERO POLLAIUOLO

Born 1443    Died 1496

Aere magis solers, liquidisve coloribus alter  
Non fuit heroas ponere sive deos.  
Argento aut auro nunquam praestantius alter  
Divina potuit fingere signa manu.  
Thusca igitur tellus magis hoc iactet alumno,  
Graecia quam quondam Parrhasio aut Phidia.



## NOTE

THIS is the first book devoted to Antonio Pollaiuolo that has been published in any language, and with the exception of the notice (chiefly descriptive) of Cavalcaselle little has been written about him up to recent times, so that there are few writers to whom I am indebted. But to one critic—Mr. Bernhard Berenson—I owe much. From his suggestive study of the Pollaiuoli published in vol. i. of his “Florentine Drawings of the Renaissance,” I have received the greatest assistance, and I desire at the beginning of my work to acknowledge my debt.

MAUD CRUTTWELL.

FLORENCE,

*June 1906,*



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## CHAPTER I

### BIOGRAPHY

LITTLE is known of the private history of Antonio Pollaiuolo. Like most of the artists born in the earlier part of the fifteenth century, his life was merely that of the busy craftsman, absorbed in work, with little time to spare for the amenities of life. Son of a poulterer, keeping his goldsmith's *bottega*, and when not occupied with business leading a patriarchal life, surrounded by numerous relations, he cannot certainly be reckoned among those artists who, clad in purple and fine linen, aspired to the luxury of princes. The two portraits of him which exist—that painted by Filippino Lippi in the Brancacci Chapel of the Carmine, and that sculptured on his tomb in S. Pietro in Vincoli, both done when he was past middle age—show the rugged face and harsh expression of a man who has spent his life laboriously and austere. Prosperous he was, as his declarations to the tax officials prove, but he seems to have used his money soberly in the acquisition of land and providing dowries for his daughters. Such history as is known of him is a mere record of work, and even the pages of Vasari are free of anecdote concerning him. He



attributes to him no personal quality except industry, and limits his eulogy to this and his consequent prosperity. A few documents yield some bald facts as to his possessions and family, and from these and his testament some idea of his social status may be gathered. For the character of the man we must turn to the works he has left. Six depositions to the Catasto \* are in existence, two made by his father in 1430 and 1457, two made by himself in 1480 and in 1498, and two made by his brothers Giovanni and Piero, when all three were living under the same roof, though independently of each other. From these documents we learn the following facts.† The family name was Benci, derived from the great-great-grandfather of Antonio, that of Pollaiuolo (poulterer) being adopted from the trade of his father Jacopo, according to the Florentine custom. Vasari, apparently to give point to some characteristic moralising on the triumph of industry, records that Jacopo was of low origin and poor, (*“assai basso e non molto agiato”*), but the latter statement at least the documents disprove. In his deposition to the Catasto of 1457 he was in possession of a shop in the Mercato Vecchio, for which he paid a fairly high rent, of a house in the

\* In 1427 a law was passed by which every Florentine citizen was required to declare the amount of his property for the regulation of the income-tax. Owing to carelessness mistakes were frequent in these documents as to the ages of the deponent and his children, and often false statements were made as to the amount of property, with the object of being lightly taxed. The statements must therefore be accepted with reserve.

† The documents will be found transcribed in the Appendix.

country, and of an exceedingly numerous *clientèle*. It is true that this *clientèle* is revealed to us only by its debts; but the number and importance of the names prove his poulterer's business to have been large and prosperous.

The family consisted of Jacopo, his wife Tomasa and their six children, four sons and two daughters, of whom Antonio was the eldest. Of Salvestro, next to him in age, who seems to have passed most of his life in Pistoja, we hear nothing of importance. Giovanni, like his father, was a poulterer, and inherited the shop in the Mercato Vecchio. He was married to Ginevra, daughter of Francesco Bacceglio, and had five children, Salvestro, Raffaello, Lucrezia, Francesco, and Domenico. Piero, the youngest of the brothers, was trained as painter and sculptor, and had, as will be seen, a *bottega* independent of Antonio. He never married, but left an illegitimate daughter—Lisa. The three brothers, Antonio, Giovanni, and Piero, shared a house in the Piazza degli Agli, near S. Maria Maggiore, no longer in existence. In 1480, when each made his separate deposition to the Catasto, they were living together, Jacopo the father, eighty-one years old, being supported by Giovanni, and Tomasa the mother, sixty-eight, by Piero. Why the younger sons, rather than Antonio the eldest, should have borne the expense of supporting the aged parents, does not transpire.

Antonio was born January 17, 1432.\* According to

\* The year of his birth is not absolutely certain, but this date is the most probable. In his Portata to the Catasto of May 31, 1433

Vasari he was placed by his father at an early age to learn the trade of goldsmith in the *bottega* of Bartoluccio Ghiberti, master of Lorenzo, and soon became one of the most skilful workers in Florence in *niello* and in the setting of jewels. By his ability he attracted the attention of Lorenzo himself, then at work on the second of the Bronze Doors of the Baptistry,\* and on the framework of these (always according to Vasari) he was set to carve, and introduced into the design a quail, so excellently done "that flight alone was required to make it perfect." Before many weeks had elapsed he had surpassed all his fellows, and was recognised as the best draughtsman and most careful worker of them all; and his fame and ability increasing, he left the workshop of Lorenzo Ghiberti and started an independent business as a goldsmith in the Mercato Nuovo.†

(see Cavalcaselle, "Storia della Pittura in Italia," Firenze. 1886, vol. vi. p. 73, note 2), his father gives his age as one year and a half, which would place his birth as above stated—1432, (old style, 1431). The day and month are determined by his name. January 17 is the feast of his patron saint Antonio Abbate, and on this day he ordered in his testament that an annual dinner should be given to twelve paupers. It is true that in his father's Portata to the Catasto of 1457 his age is given as 24, which would place his birth in 1433, and on his tomb in S. Pietro in Vincoli the year of his death is given as 1498 and his age as 72, which would place it in 1426. But in his own Portata to the Catasto of 1480 he states his age to be 49, which corroborates the date 1432. It seems most probable that this is correct, since, though a father may be mistaken as to the precise age of his grown-up son, he could hardly err in the case of a child of eighteen months.

\* The so-called Gates of Paradise. Begun, 1425. Finished, 1447. Gilded and set in place 1452.

† See Vasari, Ed. Sansoni, Firenze, 1878, iii. p. 286.

As far as the main facts go there is every reason to believe this sketch of his early apprenticeship to be correct, although there is no documented evidence either of his being placed with Bartoluccio Ghiberti, or of his having worked on the Bronze Doors under Lorenzo. In the Account Books of the Commissioners of the Doors, an entry made at the beginning of the work records that Ghiberti had in his employ his son Vittorio, Michelozzo, and three other assistants, but neither there nor in the later entries is the name of Antonio mentioned.\* There is however no reason to reject the statement that he served his apprenticeship with Lorenzo. It is on the contrary extremely probable, since his father was able to afford it, that he should place his son at the best training school in Florence to learn his craft. Antonio Billi, both in his notice of Antonio Pollaiuolo and in that of Brunellesco, states that he worked as Lorenzo's assistant on the Doors,† and to this the Anonimo Gaddiano adds the story of the quail.‡ This, however, is certainly apocryphal. The

\* "1424. 2 Gennaio. Lorenzo di Bartolo possa tenere al lavoro della detta porta Michelozzo suddetto. Vittorio figliuolo di detto Lorenzo e altri tre." Müntz, "Les Archives des Arts," Paris, 1890.

† "Lavorò nella Parte Guelfa" (a mistake of the copyist who added the word Guelfa. In the original MSS. certainly *Porte*) "con Lorenzo di Bartoluccio, dove fecie cose miracolose." ("Libro di Antonio Billi," Ed. Carl Frey, Berlin, 1892, p. 27.) "Vale assai" (Brunellesco) "nella scultura come si vede nel modello di bronzo che lui fecie per le porte di Sto Giovanni . . . anchora che poi furno allegate a Lorenzo Bartolucci o vero Giberti; anchora che sopra vi lavorassino detto Filippo, Donatello, Luca della Robbia et Anto del Pollaiuolo" (*op. cit.* p. 20).

‡ "Et anchora in sua gioventù lavorò" (Antonio) "nella porte

bird is to be seen on the left side of the Door facing the Duomo, about half way up. It has none of the special characteristics of Antonio's work, and nothing to distinguish it in any way from the other birds and animals that decorate the framework.

Vasari relates that while Antonio was apprenticed to a goldsmith, his younger brother Piero was a painter, and was placed to learn his art in the *botttega* of Andrea dal Castagno, and he proceeds to make the following astonishing statement :

"Antonio, recognising that the craft of goldsmith repaid but little the labours of the artist, resolved to abandon it for one which should better preserve his memory ; wherefore, his brother Piero being a painter, he placed himself with him to learn the use and practice of colours . . . and spurred on by ambition rather than the love of gain, he learnt in a few months the art of painting, and became a most excellent Master ; and associating himself entirely with Piero, they painted together many pictures." \*

It is perhaps hardly necessary to deny so preposterous an assertion in these days of scientific criticism. The statement that Antonio learnt painting from one so infinitely his inferior as Piero, who was also many years his junior, hardly merits notice ; yet there is no doubt that to a lingering reminiscence of Vasari's words is due

d'essa chiesa" (S. Giovanni) " con Lorenzo di Bartoluccio et in fra le altre cose fece nello stipito della porta di mezzo una quaglia molto delicatamente lavorata " (" L'Anonimo Gaddiano," Ed. Cornel v. Fabriczy, Firenze, 1893, p. 56).

\* Vasari, iii. p. 290.

in great measure the lack of discrimination as to the relative value of their work. While Antonio, next to Donatello, occupies the position of Chief and Pioneer of the Florentine realistic school, Piero, but for his influence and assistance, would probably be as little known as any of the nameless imitators of Botticelli, whose feeble work we are content to class as "School." Such small merit as there is in his painting is due entirely to his brother, whose style he imitated as closely as his abilities permitted, and there is little doubt but that, so far from Antonio having been his pupil, he himself owed his training as painter and sculptor to his brother. The statement that Antonio renounced the craft of goldsmith to become entirely a painter is equally false. He was throughout his life first and foremost a worker in metal. "*Orafo*" he signs himself whenever his name appears either in private documents or in his public works. He was hardly a sculptor in the accepted sense of the word, for he never, as far as is known, touched marble, and all his existing sculptured works were evidently intended to be executed in metal. Yet that he began to study painting at an early age, and practised it simultaneously with his goldsmith's work, is proved by dated evidence. The goldsmith's *bottega* was training-ground for the painter as well as for the metal-worker and sculptor, the school for design and drawing which constituted the most important part of Florentine painting. The character of Antonio's work points to the probability that he owed his technical education as a painter to Andrea

dal Castagno and Alesso Baldovinetti. Although his first paintings, for which we have certain date, were executed at the age of twenty-eight, several others are in existence which may well be placed earlier—work with which Piero had nothing to do. That he carried on the art simultaneously with that of goldsmith is proved by the following documented dates. In 1460 he painted the important canvases representing the Labours of Hercules, at the commission of Lorenzo de' Medici, having just completed the Silver Cross for the Altar of S. Giovanni. About 1465 he frescoed the Altar-wall in the Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal, S. Miniato, at the same date that he was working at the Silver Candlesticks to accompany the Cross. In 1472 his name figures at the head of the list of painters drawn up in that year,\* and in 1475 he painted the S. Sebastian for the Pucci Chapel, now in the National Gallery, between which dates we have record of several pieces of goldsmith's work—the helmet for the Count of Urbino, the silver basin for the Signoria, and a Crucifix for the Church of the Carmine. In the inscription carved by him upon the Tomb of Sixtus IV., executed in the last years of his life, he designates himself "Skilful in Silver, in Gold, in Painting, and in Bronze,"† and the title "*Pictor insignis*" follows his name in the inscription on his Tomb in S. Pietro in Vincoli.

\* Berenson, "Drawings of the Florentine Painters," London, 1903, vol. i. p. 18.

† "OPVS ANTONI POLAIOLI FLORENTINI, ARG. AVRO. PICT. AERE. CLARI."

The *bottega* of Antonio, like that of Verrocchio, united the crafts of sculptor, painter, portraitist, goldsmith, jeweller, architect, decorative designer, and bronze founder, and in each of these different branches of art we have record of work executed by him. All kinds of ecclesiastical ornament from sculpture of the importance of the Cross and Relief of the Silver Altar of S. Giovanni to thuribles and *paci*; from large altarpieces and frescoes to designs for embroideries; all kinds of secular goldsmith's work, such as the setting of jewels, the making of girdles, of helmets and gala armour. He frescoed the walls of private houses, and experimented in the newly-practised art of engraving. He was also an architect and practical engineer. Finally, judging by the number of life-studies which bear traces of his influence, his *atelier* must have been the chief training-school in Florence for the special study of anatomy and of the nude, and he seems to have shared with Verrocchio the reputation as the most popular teacher of the realistic art initiated by Donatello.

From Antonio's own statement we learn that he began his career in an independent position in 1459.\* It was probably at this time that he hired the shop in Via Vacchereccia† in the neighbourhood of the Ponte

\* "Fu manciieppato d' Jacopo mio padre a dì xi di magio 1459" (see Doc. III. p. 237).

† "Franciscus de Cavalcantibus . . . locat ad pensionem Antonio olim Jacobi del Pollajoli civi florentino unam apothecam ad usum aurificis in populo Sanctæ Ciciliæ in via di Vacchereccia" (Vasari, iii p. 285, note 1), and Antonio's own statement in his Portata, "Fo una bottega d'orafo in Vachereccia . . ." (Doc. III. p. 239).



Vecchio, then as now the quarter of the goldsmiths, which shop he continued to hold up to the time of his departure for Rome in 1484. "His *bottega*," writes Vasari, "became in a short time the most popular in Florence, and he the most renowned draughtsman of his day." "He was so great a draughtsman," wrote Cellini, "that nearly all the goldsmiths made use of his most beautiful designs, which were of so great excellence that to this day many sculptors and painters, the best in those arts, used them, and thereby gained the greatest honour."\* Vasari goes on to speak of Tomaso Finiguerra, the celebrated worker in *niello*, and states that in rivalry with him Antonio also devoted himself to that art, and with so much success as speedily to supersede him. Here again is an error. It is now known that so far from being the rival of Finiguerra, Antonio was in partnership with him and another famous *niello*-worker, Piero di Bartolomeo Salì, and that there existed between them the closest friendship, which lasted till the death of Finiguerra.† As Finiguerra died 1464 this partnership must date from the earlier part of Antonio's career as an independent Master, and that they were together in 1462 is proved by a document of payment for some jewels ordered by

\* Cellini, "I Trattati dell' Oreficeria e della Scultura," Ed. Carlo Milanesi, Firenze, 1857.

† "Fu Maso" (Finiguerra) "compagno di Piero di Bartolommeo Salì, orefice a suoi giorni di molto credito, nella cui bottega stette ancora Antonio del Pollaiuolo," Vasari, v. p. 395, note 2, and Milanesi's "Commentary on the Life of Marcantonio," Vasari, v. p. 443.

Cino Rinuccini, in which both names are mentioned.\* Benvenuto Cellini writes that Finiguerra, being but a poor draughtsman himself, was always assisted by Antonio, and that nothing issued from his *bottega* that was not designed by him. Unfortunately, of Finiguerra's *niello* work but one example remains, by which we may judge of the truth of this statement, and this—the *Pace* representing the Crucifixion, in the Museo Nazionale, Florence, cited by Cellini as an example of their mutual work—shows no trace of Antonio's style.

We are justified in assuming that up to 1464, the date of Finiguerra's death, Antonio was in partnership with him. Later, as he himself states in his *Portata* to the Catasto of 1480, he was sharing his goldsmith's shop in Via Vacchereccia with Paolo di Giovanni Sogliani, cousin of the more famous painter of that name, the pupil and assistant of Lorenzo di Credi.† It is uncertain what was the exact nature of the business connection between Antonio and his brother Piero, but that they were not partners in the strictly commercial sense of the word is proved by the fact that Piero received commissions independently of Antonio in both painting and sculpture. He had, besides, his independent *bottega* in a small house adjoining the family

\* See Doc. XI. p. 260.

† "Fo una botegha d'orafa in vacchereccia in una botegha . . . nella quale o per chompagno pagholo di giovanni sogliani" (see Doc. III. p. 239.) Paolo Sogliani was born 1455 (see Vasari, v. p. 133. *Albero de' Sogliani*).

dwelling in Piazza degli Agli.\* That he enjoyed considerable, if undeserved, reputation as a painter, is proved by the fact that at the age of twenty-six he received the important commission to paint the panels representing the Seven Virtues for the Council Hall of the Mercatanzia, a commission which he won against competitors of the importance of Verrocchio and Botticelli. By the Signoria also he was employed both as painter and sculptor, and, as will be seen, received other important commissions as an independent Master.

Yet in spite of this independent position it is impossible to ignore that some kind of business connection existed between the brothers. The earliest painted work of Antonio is executed entirely by his own hand, but from the time when Piero was old enough to assist him he seems to have left to him the greater part of the execution, confining himself to designing the composition, and to painting such parts as had for him a special interest, such parts being often subordinate details of landscape and ornament. Antonio himself states that he was aided by Piero in the "Labours of Hercules," painted at the commission of Lorenzo de' Medici in 1460. Since at that date Piero was only seventeen, such assistance as he gave could have been merely that of a *garzone di bottega*. In the earliest example of his work which exists—the Altarpiece of the Three Saints now in the Uffizi, painted when he was about twenty-

\* "Una chasetta la quale è apichata cholle detta di sopra . . . la quale adopero quando ho che fare a dipingniere" (Doc. V. p. 246).

three—we see that the greater part of the execution was left to him. All the subsequent paintings of Antonio show his hand in greater or less degree, and we know that Piero aided him also in his sculptured work, for example in the Tombs of the Popes in S. Pietro. Taking into account the difference of years between the brothers, and the vast difference of ability, it seems probable that, while working as an independent Master with his own *bottega* and assistants, Piero was also in the pay of his brother, and that Antonio, preoccupied with his goldsmith's work, deputed to him the greater part of the execution of the paintings for which he was commissioned, and employed him as his assistant in the more mechanical parts of his sculpture.

The position held by Antonio among the Florentine artists was perhaps higher even than that of Verrocchio, for he certainly took the lead in the so-called realistic school which had eclipsed so completely the decorative art of the preceding generation. He was fortunate, as Vasari remarks, in living at a time of financial prosperity, which allowed costly public and private works to be undertaken. He received numerous commissions throughout his life from the Council of the Mercatanzia, which, as guardian of S. Maria del Fiore and the principal churches of Florence, held the most honourable post among ecclesiastics and burgesses. The time at which Antonio started his *bottega* in the Vaccher-eccia was a busy one for the goldsmiths, for the church treasures were being overhauled and replaced by costlier works. The Reliquaries were found too simple for so

wealthy a city, and more sumptuous ones were ordered. Crosses and candelabra wrought with elaborate reliefs, and glowing with gem-like enamels, replaced the old ornaments. Later, the Silver Altar, the most precious treasure of the Republic, hitherto left unfinished for lack of funds, was completed, and superb vestments, stiff with gold, decorated with Antonio's designs, worked by embroiderers from all countries, and costing fabulous sums of money, were ordered. In all the chief ecclesiastic and civic commissions Antonio had a share, and so many were they that the greater part of his time while he remained in Florence must have been spent in their execution.

That his circumstances were proportionately prosperous his depositions to the Catasto prove, and he seems to have invested most of his money in land. In addition to his share of the house in the Piazza degli Agli and his goldsmith's shop in Via Vacchereccia, he owned a large *podere* in the parish of S. Michele a Bugliano, between Poggio a Caiano and Pistoja. The main part of this he bought in 1469, and he had gone on adding to it fields, vineyards, olive groves, and wooded land, until it had attained the dimensions of a considerable estate, from which he drew a large amount of profit in oil, grain, and wine. Beside this he possessed a vineyard at Castello, bought before 1470, and rented another piece of land near the Porta al Prato. When he made his deposition of 1480, he was married to his first wife Marietta, but she must have died very soon after, for in his testament made in 1496

he leaves as heirs his second wife Lucrezia, and his two daughters by her, Marietta and Magdalena. From his deposition made in the last year of his life we learn that this second wife was the daughter of a certain Fantone Fantoni, and that he had been promised as her dowry property in the Mercato Vecchio which had never been paid.

It was probably to the good will of Lorenzo de' Medici that he owed the most important commission of his life—that from Innocent VIII. to execute a monument to his predecessor Sixtus IV. in S. Peter's. In a letter to Giovanni Lanfredini, Florentine envoy at the Papal Court, Lorenzo expressed his appreciation of Antonio in the following words :

“The said Antonio is the chief Master in this city, and perhaps that has ever been, and this is the common opinion of all who understand such matters.” \*

Antonio left Florence to take up his abode in Rome somewhere about 1484, accompanied by Piero, who seems to have served as his assistant. Of his life there we hear nothing, but the immense development shown in his work testifies to the invigorating stimulus he received from the wider intellectual atmosphere. For originality of conception, as well as for technical execution, the two superb Tombs of the Popes rank as

\* “Detto Antonio è il principale Maestro di questa città, e forse per avventura non ce ne fu mai ; e questa è commune opinione di tutti gl' intendenti ” (Letter dated November 12, 1489 ; see Gaye, “Carteggio Inedito,” Firenze, 1839, i. p. 341.)

high above his former work as does the Colleoni statue of Verrocchio above his Florentine sculpture.

Innocent VIII. died 1492, two years before the completion of the Tomb commissioned by him, and Antonio received from his heir, Cardinal Lorenzo Cybo, the order to execute the second Monument. Between the completion of the one and the beginning of the other he paid a visit to his estates near Pistoja. Of this visit we have notice in a letter written by himself to his patron Gentil Virginio Orsini, Lord of Monterotondo. In the dearth of direct record a letter by his own hand is of interest, and this, alluding as it does to the canvases painted by him for Lorenzo de' Medici, has a special importance.\* It bears the date July 13, 1494, and was written in answer to a verbal message sent him by Orsini, proposing that he should make a bust of him in bronze. This Antonio declares himself very ready to do, but he would have preferred, he writes, to execute instead a life-sized equestrian statue, which should immortalise his memory. He proposes to go to Bracciano, where Orsini then was, in order to make the drawing for the bust, which he would then take back to Rome and execute in bronze. He proceeds to ask the following service. He is going the next day to visit his estates near Pistoja, fifteen miles distant from Florence; and as on account of the plague then ravaging

\* The document was discovered in the archives of Casa Orsini in Rome, and was first published on the occasion of the marriage of one of the family, June 24, 1891, by Luigi Borsari. Republished in *L'Arte*, 1892, p. 208. It will be found transcribed in the Appendix, Doc. VII. p. 256.

Italy, it was forbidden for any one coming from Rome to approach within twenty miles of Florence, he begs Orsini to obtain for him permission from Piero di Lorenzo de' Medici. "I think he will willingly grant me this favour," he writes, "because he knows that I have been ever faithful to his house, and think that it is now thirty-four years since I painted those Labours of Hercules which are in the hall of his palace, executed by me and one of my brothers."

He states that he is taking with him to Florence two figures of bronze, but whether these were works executed by himself or were antiques is not recorded. The letter proves that while in Rome he was not occupied exclusively with the Papal Tombs, and indeed we have further record of work done by him for certain Cardinals, who were apparently in no haste to pay for it (Doc. VIII. p. 258). His proposal to make an equestrian statue of Orsini reminds us that, as is proved by the existence of the sketch by his hand, he competed for the commission to execute the Monument to Francesco Sforza, which was eventually given to Leonardo. This competition must have taken place soon after Lodovico's accession to power in 1480, thus shortly before Antonio's journey to Rome, and in demanding permission to make an equestrian statue of Orsini, Antonio probably had in mind to use his studies and models.

His stay in Tuscany must have been a mere visit, for he was soon after again in Rome, executing the Tomb of Innocent VIII., which was completed only in the year



of his death. In some of its details merely a replica of that of Sixtus, the monument is yet, on account of its superb portrait statues of the Pope, a fitting culmination to his life's work. The supreme point of his achievement artistically and technically was attained in the Tomb of Sixtus, as a realistic and psychological portraitist in the two statues of Innocent, living and dead. Thus by an irony of chance both Pollaiuolo and Verrocchio, appreciated and honoured to the utmost by their fellow townsmen, left, not to those among whom their lives had been passed, but to strangers, their noblest work.

The Tomb of Innocent was completed but a very short time before Antonio's death. On Jan. 30, 1498, the remains of the Pope were transferred from their temporary resting place to the sarcophagus, and less than a week after, on Feb. 4, Antonio died.\*

Fifteen months before (Nov. 4, 1496) he had made his testament, a lengthy document, from which however few facts of interest are forthcoming. He desires that if he dies in Rome, his body shall be buried in S. Pietro in Vincoli, from which it may be assumed that he was living in the parish of that church. If, on the other hand, he dies in Florence, he wishes to be buried in the tomb of his ancestors, but where that was he does not specify. He leaves to each of his daughters by his wife Lucrezia, a dowry of 1000 gold ducats and his property,

\* "In uno strumento del 27 maggio 1511 rogato di Ser Angelo da Cascese si legge che la morte d'Antonio accadde in Roma il 4 febbrajo dell' anno 1498." See Milanese's note, Vasari, iii. p. 299.

and in case of their death he nominates as his heirs the sons of his brother Giovanni. We learn that Piero, when sick and near to death, had left to Antonio's care the guardianship of his illegitimate daughter Lisa. From the thousands of lawyer's words employed in the document we gather nothing more.

Both Antonio and Piero were buried in S. Pietro in Vincoli, where the tablet to their memory is to be seen to the left of the entrance (Plate II.). The monument, with the busts of the brothers, is probably the work of the Fiesole sculptor Michele di Luca Marini.\* The inscription is as follows :

ANTONIVS PVLLARIVS PATRIA FLORENTII  
NVS . PICTOR INSIGN . QVI DVOR . PONT  
XISTI ET INNOCENTI AEREA MONIMENT . MIRO  
OPIFIC . EXPRESSIT . REFAMIL . COMPOSITA  
EX TEST . HIC SE CVM PETRO FRATRE CONDI  
VOLVIT . VIX ANN LXXII . OBIT ANNO SAL . MIID .

Both heads have the appearance of being faithful portraits. That of Antonio corresponds with the head painted somewhere about 1484 by Filippino Lippi in the Brancacci Chapel in the Carmine, Florence (see

\* Born at Fiesole 1459. His best known works are the statue of S. Sebastian in S. Maria sopra Minerva and the Ponzetti Tombs in S. Maria della Pace, Rome. The resemblance of the Pollaiuolo Tablet to these tombs—one erected in 1505 to the sisters Beatrice and Lavinia Ponzetti, one in 1509 to Ferrando Ponzetti, enables us to determine its authorship. The design is similar—the portrait heads of the deceased in almost free relief deeply sunk into oval niches, with the inscription below in Latin characters enclosed in a square decorated framework.

Frontispiece).\* Allowing for the personality of the two artists, Marini coarsening, Filippino refining, the features, we probably obtain a true idea of Antonio's appearance—an appearance which corresponds with the strength and energy of his work and the simple austerity of his life. In both we have the same rugged face with strongly marked features, large nose, tightly compressed lips, broad forehead, with beetling brows and prominent chin. It is not an attractive face. Its expression is so concentrated and morose as to verge on ferocity, but, like the portraits of Mantegna and Signorelli, it expresses to a supreme degree the qualities of intellectual and physical force and energy. It is just the face that might be expected from the Hercules pictures and the fighting nudes—combative and capable of brutality. Equally characteristic of his feeble work is the timid and fretful face of Piero, with its weak mouth and vacillating expression. This must have been copied from some earlier portrait, for it represents him as a much younger man than he was at the date of his death.

Nine days after the death of Antonio the Signoria wrote the following letter to Domenico Bonsi, Florentine Orator in Rome, a letter which proves the high esteem in which he was held by his fellow citizens. It is dated Feb. 13. 1497 (N. S. 1498).

\* The portrait of Antonio is to be found in the fresco of S. Peter and Paul before the Proconsul, one of the three men who stand behind S. Paul, nearest the Proconsul. His hair is grey, almost white, and he wears a red biretta. (See Frontispiece.)



*Anderson*

TOMB OF ANTONIO AND PIERO POLLAIUOLO. S. PIETRO IN  
 VINCOLI, ROME

*Face p. 20*



“To our most learned and magnificent Orator. Antonio del Pollaiuolo, a very celebrated sculptor of our city, having died in Rome within the past days, we are begged by his wife to recommend her to you. Her said husband remaining creditor for certain sums of money to the Most Reverend Cardinal di Benevento and to Monsignor Ascanio, for certain works of art executed for them, we desire that you should go to the said Most Reverend Cardinal, and in our name exhort them to pay their debt to the said Antonio and his wife and heirs, so that if it be possible they may receive their money; for the said Antonio having been a citizen of our town and unique in his art, it is meet that for his sake we should aid his wife and heirs, as those who ever hold all excellence in the highest esteem.” (See Doc. VIII. p. 257.)

Vasari says that it was currently reported that while in Rome Antonio designed the Villa of the Belvedere in the Vatican Gardens, for Innocent VIII. This seems improbable, since there is no mention of his name in the documents of payment for the building. On the contrary, the name of the architect is given — Giacomo da Pietrasanta, who was employed both by Innocent and Sixtus IV. The plans of the now almost demolished Villa show, however, the influence of Florentine architecture, square and fortress-like, with the castellations, machicolated walls, and open loggia of the Florentine buildings.\* That he was a practical archi-

\* Several plans are in existence. The *Pianta di Roma* by Sebastiano Münster, published 1549; an unpublished drawing by Heemskerck in the Royal Library, Berlin, and a third, published in the

tect and engineer is known, for in 1491 he is mentioned as having furnished a design or model for the *façade* of S. Maria del Fiore.\* In 1467 and again in 1468 he was among those consulted as to the metal ball which was to crown the lantern of Brunellesco's cupola (Doc. XIII. p. 263). The document recording this deliberation is of interest as a picture of such assemblies, and the care bestowed on the minutest detail of the public works. The list of "the venerable citizens and most prudent, excellent, and intelligent Masters" met together to decide whether the ball should be of cast or of hammered metal, includes such names as those of Lorenzo de' Medici, Matteo Palmieri, and Buonaccorso Pitti, among the citizens, and of Luca della Robbia, Antonio Pollaiuolo, and Verrocchio, among the Masters.

The few facts known of the life of Piero may be briefly summed up, in order that an idea of his position among his contemporaries may be obtained. The date of his birth is uncertain, and as in the case of Antonio we have to choose the most probable from those given in

"Giardino di Roma" by Falda, Tavola iv. Taja and Chattard writing 1750-1762, ascribe the architecture to Antonio, but this is probably copied from Vasari. The Villa was almost completely destroyed by Pio VI. in constructing the Museo Chiaramonti.

\* Cavalcaselle, "Storia della Pittura," Firenze, 1894, vi. p. 95. The name of Antonio is mentioned among the competitors who were absent at the exhibition of the drawings and models. Burckhardt asserts that the cupola of the Sacristy of S. Spirito was erected from Antonio's design ("Cicerone," p. 128), but there seems to be no foundation for the statement.

the different Portate.\* This would seem to be 1443, which if correct would make him eleven years younger than Antonio.

It is of course possible, as Vasari states, that he learnt painting in the *atelier* of Andrea dal Castagno, but as Andrea died when he was but fourteen years old, in any case it would not have been his only training. From the character of his work it seems most likely that he owed his education entirely to Antonio.

The first documented notice we have of him is of 1460, when, as a boy of seventeen, he assisted Antonio in painting the lost canvases of the Labours of Hercules for Lorenzo de' Medici. The earliest existing work in which his hand is visible is in the Altarpiece of the Three Saints, painted with his brother a few years later for the Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal, S. Miniato. In 1470 he held already an independent position as a Master, receiving the commission from the Mercatanzia for the panels of the Virtues to decorate their Council Hall. In 1477 he was competing with Verrocchio for the Forteguerri Tomb, to be erected in the Cathedral of Pistoja. Verrocchio had, it transpires from the document recording this competition (Doc. XX. p. 277), demanded more money from the commissioners than they were willing to give; upon which they invited Piero,

\* In his Portata to the Catasto of 1457 his father gives his age as 14, which would place the date of his birth in 1443. He himself, in his Portata of 1480 gives it as 33, which would place it in 1447. As in the case of Antonio, I have accepted the former, since it is unlikely that a father would mistake the age of so young a child.



then in the city, to send in a model for the Monument. This model they found "more beautiful and more artistically worthy" than that of Verrocchio. Both were sent to Lorenzo de' Medici to decide as to their respective merits, and his judgment was in favour of Verrocchio. Piero received several commissions independently of Antonio from the Signoria, but never, as far as is known, worked for the Duomo. In 1478 he was ordered to paint the Altar-piece for the Chapel of S. Bernardo in the Palazzo dei Priori, but, for some reason that does not transpire, the commission was eight days later taken from him and given to Leonardo, who however left the work unfinished.\* In 1482 he had to paint the *façade* of a wall-fountain in the hall of the same Palace (Doc. XVII. p. 273). In 1483 he painted at the commission of Domenico Strambi the Altarpiece for the Church of S. Agostino, S. Gimignano. He accompanied his brother to Rome to aid him in the Tombs of the Popes, and the last record we have of him is in the testament of Antonio above quoted. The exact date of his death is not known, but it was probably in 1496.

\* See Milanesi, "Documenti inediti risguardanti Leonardo da Vinci," Firenze, 1872.

## CHAPTER II

### THE PLACE OF ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO IN FLORENTINE ART

THANKS in part to the misleading notice of Vasari, in part to the scanty study that has been made of his work, the name of Antonio Pollaiuolo—the greatest scientific artist of the Florentine School—has been inextricably confused with that of Piero—one of the weakest. The fact that Piero worked upon (and half spoiled) some few paintings designed, and in part executed, by him, is not sufficient reason for this confusion, for no men ever differed so fundamentally as these brothers, both in temperament and in ability. The same contrast is offered by their work as by their busts in S. Pietro in Vincoli, where in one we find a concentration of energy and force, which recalls the faces of Mantegna, of Signorelli, and of Michelangelo, in the other the timidity and vacillation which arise from physical and mental weakness. The high place held by Antonio is due far more to his work in metal, and to the few small panels painted entirely by his own hand, than to the larger pictures, to which Piero's co-operation has given a secondary value. His immense influence on contemporary and subsequent art is the result of his initiation.

of a scientific study of the nude, never before attempted. A just appreciation of the specific qualities of his work makes it far from difficult, as far as the figures at least are concerned, to distinguish in their joint paintings the share of each brother. These qualities are precisely those which Piero lacks. Antonio's consummate knowledge of the human structure, his mastery of the movements of limb and muscle, the concentration of energy he imparts to his figures, and the perfection of his draughtsmanship, are in direct contrast to the feebleness, flaccidity, and technical weakness of Piero. By his profound science, his realistic and forcible representation of the nude, Antonio changed the entire character of Florentine Art, setting it on a basis of truth and realism, which ultimately resulted in the supreme achievements of Michelangelo. The feebleness of Piero did not permit him to do more than weakly imitate his brother's forms, which in his hands became mere caricatures of strength. Of energy of any sort he was incapable. Of the vibrating life, the vigorous action, the rapid movement, of Antonio's work there is no trace in that of Piero.

How then has the work of men thus different become so confused, that from Vasari down to our own day the attributions are almost invariably incorrect? Chiefly, that the most characteristic work of Antonio—the reliefs of the Silver Cross, of the Tomb of Sixtus, his pen studies from the nude, and the few panels and frescoes by his own unaided hand, are less known than the larger pictures painted in conjunction with Piero.

In these latter, moreover, the energy of his work so dominates the picture, that the mind, concentrated on the parts executed by him, ignores the rest. For example, in the best known and most popular of their joint paintings—the S. Sebastian of the National Gallery—two figures only, out of the foreground group of seven, are painted by Antonio—the archers stooping to load their bows. Yet these two so dominate the scene that they *are* the picture. From Vasari onward no critic has troubled to analyse the rest, which are mere puppets without life or action. The energy by which the altar-piece takes rank among the greatest masterpieces, is concentrated in these superb figures, in which strength and effort are focussed to a higher degree than in actual life, and the feeble brushwork of Piero escapes notice.

To criticise on an equality the works of men so different is impossible. The ties of blood alone connect Piero with Antonio. That he had a share in some paintings, designed and partly executed by his brother, makes a slight sketch of his development unavoidable, but the following study is devoted chiefly to Antonio, the great scientific Master of Italian Art, the main influence by which it was brought to perfection in the work of Michelangelo.

From the days of Giotto, Florentine Art had been steadily progressing towards realism, and breaking with the traditions of symbolism set by early Christian painters and mosaic-workers. Through the impulse given by

Donatello it grew self-reliant, and asserted its right to independence. Donatello's interests were however more with the interpretation of character than mere physical life. As subtle psychological studies his statues are marvellous, but in the presentation of the human form there was still much to be learnt. Giotto was the first to give solidity and weight to the body, Donatello to realise its superficial forms and endow it with mind; it remained for Antonio Pollaiuolo to present with complete science its structure of muscle and bone, its movements of limb and joint, and the complicated play of the muscular system. It was he, rather than Donatello, who introduced the *culte* of the body, which had been repudiated during the dark ages. In spite of essential differences of ideal, his aim and that of the Greek sculptor were alike—the representation of the body in its most perfect development; but while the Greek ideal was harmonious beauty, to which strength was but an adjunct, with Antonio strength and energy took the foremost place.

Early Christian Art had looked askance on the human body in its reactionary bitterness towards Roman sensuality. It had concealed it in draperies suggesting nothing of the form beneath, and conventionalised even the faces, hands, and feet. Even in the early Quattrocento the nude was almost completely excluded. Where it was necessary to represent it, as in the Crucified Christ, it was treated in a manner so conventional as to be little more than a symbol. The Pisani, it is true, had long before sculptured the nude with a certain apprecia-

tion, Niccolò treating it in imitation of the antique, Giovanni with more realism, and Andrea has left, on his bronze doors and his carvings on the Campanile more than one nude figure, showing much knowledge of its structure. Masaccio and Andrea dal Castagno, preoccupied as they were with the human body, preferred to present it under draperies, and even Donatello carved few nudes except his children. Under the patronage of Lorenzo de' Medici and the leadership of Antonio Pollaiuolo, a new era of pseudo-paganism was revived in art, and the body and its possibilities of perfection alone were studied. The old themes of the Church were either neglected or treated in a manner more in accordance with the fresh interests. Mythological subjects became the fashion. Draperies were abandoned, or when necessitated by the subject were treated for the independent interests they offered for complicated arrangements, curves and lines. A scientific study of the nude became the necessary training of the student, and the life school replaced the goldsmith's *bottega*. In all these innovations Antonio took the lead. He and Verrocchio held the chief training-schools at Florence, but in the study of the nude Verrocchio was his disciple. It is not only as the sculptor of the Tombs of the Popes, as the creator of the Hercules and splendid athletes, that Antonio must be recognised, but as the chief artistic influence of his epoch—the head of an *atelier*, where half the painters and sculptors of Italy studied his scientific methods, drew from the nude model, and learnt the secrets

of the construction of the body and its movements.

"He understood the nude in a more modern way than any of the Masters before him," wrote Vasari, "and removed the skin from many corpses to see the anatomy beneath; he was the first to study the play of the muscles and their form and order in the body."\* It is for the high standard set by him in the representation of the nude that the influence of Antonio is chiefly valuable.

And it was not only in Florence that this influence was felt. Through the channel of Signorelli and of Fiorenzo de' Lorenzo, both his disciples, it spread to the Umbrian School; through the channel of Mantegna to the Paduan; and by means of Dürer, his influence is even perceptible in a better understanding of the nude in the art of Germany.

But Antonio had other interests in the nude body besides its forms. He was chiefly preoccupied with its movements, the movements not only of limb and joint, but the play of the muscles under the skin. Tracing his development, as far as is possible in his existing work, a steady progress in the presentation of movement is visible, and this movement grows more vehement as his ability increased. He played with the body as a juggler with his balls, putting it into a hundred difficult postures, with such science of its structure that they hardly seem strange, concentrating effort in the swell and

\* Vasari, iii. p. 295.

tension of a muscle, and fury in the downward curve of a lip. Violent, brutal, savage—all these words may be applied to his scenes of combat, but physical force and energy have never been so superbly presented before or since. Not even Signorelli nor Michelangelo have equalled him, and who can say to what extent is due to him those magnificent achievements of the nude in action—the Inferno of Orvieto and the Last Judgment of the Sistine Chapel?

As regards the artistic influences of Antonio little need be said. He was above all original, and his art is most personal. He directed rather than followed, and the chief influence on his work was that of Nature, which he sought to imitate to the utmost of his power. Yet there is of course much in superficial form that is derived from his predecessors, certain characteristics which may indicate to what Masters he owed his training.

As far as his goldsmith's education is concerned Vasari may be right in stating that he was apprenticed to Bartoluccio and Lorenzo Ghiberti. But whatever he may have learnt from the latter technically he had no appreciable influence on his style, which in its crude realism is exactly opposed to the pseudo-classicism of Ghiberti. The influence of Donatello counts for much in his development, yet it is doubtful if he was directly his pupil, his system of work pointing to a training in the goldsmith's rather than the sculptor's *atelier*. In any case, since Donatello left Florence for Padua when he was a child of twelve, any personal influence must have been slight. It is more likely that



it was transmitted through Andrea dal Castagno, to whom of all the Florentine Masters Antonio owes most.\* It is even possible that to Andrea were due his ideals of physical force. Antonio brought to perfection the type originated by him, and his Hercules is but a grander development of Pippo Spano (Plate III.). Such realistic figures also as the Evangelist and Virgin in Andrea's large fresco of S. Maria Nuova now in the Uffizi, and in the tiny panel of the National Gallery, have obviously had their influence upon Antonio. Andrea was the first uncompromising Realist of the Quattrocento, whose aims were entirely devoted to the interpretation of physical force and emotion. He lacked the sense for beauty inherent in Antonio, and presented his ideals by truculent gesture and facial grimace as much as by thews and sinews. To him, with greater reason than to Antonio, can be applied the epithets "ugly" and "brutal," but his few remaining works show how scientific had been his training in the construction of the human form, although we possess no single nude from his brush that is not treated conventionally. The draperies however do not conceal the admirable structure of the form beneath, nor does the armour of Pippo Spano hide the freedom of the limbs.†

\* Recent investigation seems to prove that Andrea dal Castagno was born, not as Milanese states in 1399, but somewhere about 1410. See Herbert Horne, "Andrea dal Castagno," *Burlington Magazine*, vii. 1905, p. 66.

† It is one of the disgraces of modern Florence that the superb fresco by Andrea dal Castagno, representing the Trinity with S. Jerome and other saints standing below, discovered several years



*Alinari*

PORTRAIT OF PIPPO SPANO. BY ANDREA DAL  
CASTAGNO. SANT' APOLLONIA, FLORENCE

*Face p. 32*



An influence far more superficial is that of Alesso Baldovinetti, and as it is certain that no personal sympathy would have attracted Antonio towards an artist so widely different, it seems likely that he was placed by his father to learn painting in his *atelier*. His manner of treating landscape strongly recalls that of Baldovinetti, who was the first to paint it realistically. The backgrounds of his ruined fresco in the cloister of the SS. Annunziata and the Madonna of the Louvre, resemble strikingly the favourite Arno Valley of Antonio, and there are other likenesses which will be noticed later, between certain of Antonio's forms and those of Baldovinetti. The collaboration of the two Masters in the decoration of the Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal, S. Miniato, points to some connection between them, and the fact that Antonio employed the same unfortunate method of fresco, adds further weight to the hypothesis that he was his pupil.

Except in certain superficial forms Antonio borrowed little from the antique. Of all contemporary Masters he was perhaps the least influenced by Greek or Roman

ago beneath a later painting, in the left aisle of the SS. Annunziata, should have been again covered up by the authorities, for no other reason than that it attracted tourists to the church who disturbed the services. Why the Art-Conservators, with apparently inexhaustible funds at their command with which to restore buildings that need no restoration, (such as the Campanile of the Badia, the Loggia dei Lanzi, and the Convent of S. Miniato,) should not have removed the fresco to the Gallery, is a mystery I will not attempt to solve.

Sculpture, and never did he work in a manner so personal and modern as when in the atmosphere of Rome. He was as indifferent to the conventions of classic as of early Christian Art. It is significant that while some of the figures round the Tomb of Sixtus bear a superficial likeness to certain antique statues, by their postures, their gesticulation, and the arrangement of their draperies, they are as far removed from classic art as any work of the Renaissance.

Antonio's place in the development of engraving cannot be disregarded, although we have but one plate from his hand, and it is possible this was his only experiment in the art, outside his *niello* work.\* But this single plate—*The Battle of Ten Nudes*—gives him an important place as an engraver. In the strong outline and to some extent also in the regular shading

\* Of the three engravings given by Bartsch to Antonio this only is authentic. Mr. Berenson has suggested as possibly work by his hand the Profile Portrait of a Lady in the Berlin Print-Room, officially attributed to an unknown Florentine engraver of the fifteenth century ("Florentine Drawings," i. 25). It has been ascribed also to an Umbrian master, and Delaborde suggested that it is a portrait of Battista Sforza, Duchess of Urbino. (See "La Gravure en Italie," Paris, p. 146.) The technique is of the simplest. The profile is engraved in one continuous, deeply-cut, line, and the modelling is obtained by colour—a wash of pale red, obviously applied by the artist himself. The lady wears a very elaborate headdress of jewels and goldsmith's work, fastened on her forehead by a star-shaped jewel, and the too great elaboration of this headdress, which eclipses the face, seems to me at variance with Antonio's usual emphasis of the significant, and his interest in the human face. The engraving is well reproduced in colour by the International Chalcographical Society.

of the background, he betrays the habits of the *niello*-worker, but his scheme of shading in the figures shows a different aim—the imitation of pen-drawing. Nearly all the engraving which preceded him, for example the “Planet” series, attributed to Finiguerra, had been executed in what is called the “fine manner,” that is to say, shaded with fine lines laid closely together and often cross-hatched. This system produced—most likely intentionally—the effect of a washed drawing. Somewhat later—probably between 1470 and 1480—the so-called “broad manner” came into use, simple parallel lines of open shading, certainly based on the imitation of pen-drawing; for example copies of the “fine manner” Sibyls and Prophets, and the plates in the style of Fra Filippo, illustrating the Life of the Virgin and Christ. As the *Battle of the Nudes* must have preceded these, it may be inferred that the change of technique was due to Antonio. In his plate, however, there is another element of shading lacking in the “broad manner,” the interlaying of oblique strokes at a very small angle to the principal lines, as though the artist were making a return-stroke with the pen. These lines are very lightly engraved, and do not appear in the more worn impressions, but in the best existing print—that in the collection of Prince Lichtenstein at Feldsberg—they are plainly visible.\*

These peculiarities of Antonio's technique appear

\* For these notes on the engraving of Antonio I am indebted to Mr. A. M. Hind of the Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum.

also in the engravings of Mantegna, and it is probable that the latter adopted them from him. Dr. Kristeller suggests that it was the *Battle of the Nudes* which gave Mantegna the impulse to master the technique and become his own engraver.\* It is however dangerous to lay stress on such a possibility, since open-lined engraving was practised by the Paduan followers of Mantegna as early as from 1460-70.

In the rapid movement towards perfection which took place in Florentine art in the last fifty years of the fifteenth century, Antonio holds the chief place. He is the connecting link between the tentative efforts of Paolo Uccello and Andrea dal Castagno, and the triumphant facility of Leonardo and Michelangelo. His own development was steady and rapid. Of his earliest goldsmith's work no example remains, but his progress in technical matters and his intellectual development can be appreciated by a comparison of his earliest existing work—the reliefs of the Silver Cross—and his latest—the Tombs of the Popes. The advance is extraordinary, even in that age of swift development. Between the severe, slightly academic figures of the reliefs, and the free, almost *baroque* sculptures of the Tombs lies a world of truer visualisation and progress. These Monuments must be considered as the culminating-point, not only of Antonio's personal development, but of the whole artistic movement he represents. A step beyond and we come to the *baroque* art

\* Kristeller, "Andrea Mantegna," London, 1901, p. 392.

of the following century, in which the interpretation of idea was subordinated to the parade of technical facility. The great charm of Antonio's work is that with the depth of feeling and earnest effort of the fifteenth century he combined the technical perfection of the sixteenth.



## CHAPTER III

### CHARACTERISTICS OF HIS ART

THE faultless draughtsmanship of Antonio was recognised by all the early critics as his preëminent quality. Vasari, Cellini and Baldinucci, far as they were from comprehending his true position in the development of Florentine art, gave him the first place as a draughtsman, and their praise is below his merits. His figures are invariably well proportioned, showing an acquaintance with anatomy that only the dissecting-table could give; his modelling is perfect, with a feeling for the bone and muscle which enables us at will to see the figure as it is presented, as an *écorché*, or as a skeleton; his perspective is invariably correct, and his space values are admirably managed. It is true that, in accordance with his special interests, he constructs his figures with no regard to beauty in the general acceptance of the word. His types are selected solely with a view to interpret strength and energy, and have not the symmetry of a Greek statue nor any manifestation of intellectual development. His types of male nude are two, one lean and sinewy, with immense shoulders and chest, small hips and bent legs—the type of the

Hercules—the other more of the Doryphorous build, broader in the flanks and stouter, as in the *Discord* and the *Battle of the Nudes*. How much the first and most characteristic of these types influenced his contemporaries, may be seen in the numerous life studies of the epoch and in the paintings of Verrocchio, of Mantegna and of Botticelli.

During the early part of his life he seems to have given little attention to the female nude, probably considering that it offered small scope for his special interests. As far as we know he never carved or painted a Madonna, except in the *Annunciation* of the Silver Cross and in the *Birth of the Baptist* of the Silver Altar. Up to the time of his departure for Rome, with the exception of these exquisite figures, his females are comparatively commonplace, but in the superb nudes that recline round the Tomb of Sixtus, he seems for the first time to have recognised the possibilities of a union of grace and strength in the female form. In the supple beauty of their limbs, strong as an athlete's, dainty as a stag's, he has reached the highest point as a sculptor of the female nude.

Antonio must have made a special study of hands and feet, and none of his contemporaries, not even Luca della Robbia or Verrocchio, have equalled the beauty and expressiveness of his hands. The type is chosen for its nervous energy as much as for its grace. It is long and narrow, extremely delicate in form, with pointed fingers capable of grip and force. The beauty of his hand is best illustrated in the Arts and Sciences

round the Tomb of Sixtus, but even in his tiny reliefs of the Silver Cross it is remarkable.

But great draughtsman as he was, it is to his science in presenting action the most violent, of seizing movement at its most significant point, of concentrating energy and effort, that he owes his unique position in the development of art. To this he devoted his science and skill, and never have rapid motion, vehement gesture and the violence of brute force been better rendered. By the side of his Hercules combating the Hydra and strangling Antæus, of his struggling nudes of the engraving, and of the *Discord*, other representations of similar themes seem tame and spiritless, and even Signorelli, Michelangelo and Leonardo—those great Masters of vehement movement—have never surpassed him. And he can be equally successful in rhythmic as in rapid movement, in quiet as in violent action, as the frescoes of Arcetri prove.

The feeling for beauty and harmony was inherent in his nature, so deeply rooted that it asserts itself even in his most brutal scenes of struggle. In the Combats of Hercules for example, the decorative beauty of the lines, and the tranquil landscape, give an almost idyllic charm to the scenes. *The Battle of the Nudes*, considered only as pattern, is like some exquisite tapestry, with its background of leaves and grasses and the interwoven movement of the figures. In spite of his obsession for strength, no artist has created figures of more poetic charm than his *David*, now in Berlin, the stag-like *Virgin* of the Silver Altar, or the

*Annunciation* of the Silver Cross. Thanks in part to his goldsmith's training, the Florentine painter is extremely sensitive to the beauty of line. He depends for his effects on line as the Venetian on colour. As a linealist Antonio has surpassed all his contemporaries, not even excepting Botticelli. His line is sensitive and at the same time decisive. Swift and rhythmic, it curls like smoke or flashes like flame. The line of Botticelli has the same sensitive quality but not the same energy. As a linealist Leonardo only can be compared to him, and the touch of the two Masters has much resemblance.

Antonio was a superb composer. Again thanks to the goldsmith's training the standard of composition in the Florentine school is extremely high. Men of such slight ability as the Bicci and the nameless imitators of Botticelli and Fra Filippo, rarely err in the balance and grouping of their scenes. This of course is more easy in the tranquil compositions of the hieratic Altarpieces, such as the *Madonna and Saints*, the *Assumption*, and kindred themes. In crowded scenes of vehement action the composition presents greater difficulties, yet in the most complicated and energetic of his works, Antonio groups his figures with faultless balance. His tendency, like all great painters and sculptors, is to build up his composition in pyramidal form, which gives a monumental stability to the group. One of the most perfect examples of this is the *Combat of Hercules with Antæus*. The figures seem designed to be cast in bronze, and notwithstanding the energy and effort, the action has the finality of monumental sculpture. He had a method of

giving importance to his figures by setting them on a prominence well in the foreground, thus eliminating the middle distance, by which means they stand out colossal against the distant plane. This composition is almost invariable in his paintings, and was imitated by Botticelli in those early works which most show the influence of Antonio, for example, in his *S. Sebastian* of Berlin and the *Judith* of the Uffizi.

He must have devoted himself with almost equal zeal to the study of perspective as to anatomy, and here also he was far in advance of his contemporaries. His success in rendering the depth of space in landscape exceeds that of Paolo Uccello, and in interiors he is unrivalled. In his designs for the embroideries, in his relief of the Silver Altar, with backgrounds as detailed as a Flemish interior, he has given the perspective of the long rooms and the relative values of distance with consummate skill. His landscapes have the spaciousness of Perugino's, a spaciousness gained, not by any atmospheric effect, which he never attempted, but by his fine management of perspective. The planes recede so naturally and the values of distance are so well rendered, that we have the feeling, as in the minute landscapes of Mantegna, of actually being able to enter it and to measure the number of miles to the most distant point.

He was as realistic in his treatment of landscape as of the human form. He chose to represent invariably the same scene—the Arno Valley seen from below Florence—and reproduces with photographic fidelity every detail and building dotted among the hills. Each

tower and church in the city can be recognized, and no more faithful pictures of old Florence exist than we find in his paintings. He was the first great landscape painter of his epoch, valuing scenery not as a mere accessory to the figures, but for the sake of its beauty and special interest. His scenes of the Arno Valley, if abstracted from the subject to which they form the background, are complete pictures in themselves, as full of interest and meaning as a landscape by Turner. That he took a special interest in them is proved by the fact that, while leaving to Piero the principal figures in his pictures, he himself painted with the care of a miniaturist the background scenery.

In colour Antonio tends to be somewhat heavy, warm brown, green, peacock blue, deep amethyst and ruby being his favourite tints. It is probably to his handling of gold and jewels that he owes the depth and gem-like glow of his colours. In combining them he is always harmonious, and the effect of his paintings is of great depth and richness. There is as little weakness or triviality in his tones as in his draughtsmanship, and his contrasts of light and shade are strong and sharp, as of one accustomed to work in metal. His flesh tints are brown, with a tendency to brick-red, and these strong colours add to the energy of his forms. In his paintings there is always a suggestion of bronze, in his choice of colour as much as in his sharp decisive modelling.

In rendering surface and texture he is particularly successful. In his painted and sculptured work he makes us feel the hardness of bone, the elasticity of

muscle, as no other artist has done. In his painting of stuffs he is as realistic as in all else, imitating with delusive effect the soft pile of velvet and furs, the crispness of gold brocade, and the diaphanous texture of draperies.

And with all his attention to detail Antonio never lost sight of the composition as a whole, nor lost his largeness of style. He combined to perfection the delicacy of the goldsmith with the breadth of the worker in clay.

## CHAPTER IV

### EARLY GOLDSMITH'S WORK. THE SILVER CROSS OF S. GIOVANNI. 1457-1479

ACCORDING to Vasari the earliest works executed by Antonio after starting an independent career, were some *Paci*\* worked in *niello*, and he mentions others wrought in enamel, so exquisitely coloured "that with the brush they could hardly be better done." "In other Churches of Florence, of Rome and elsewhere

\* Small engraved *plaques* of precious metal, generally representing the Crucifixion, enclosed in jewelled frames, which were offered by the Priest to be kissed by the faithful during Mass, a ceremony that replaced in the fifth century the kiss given to each other by the early Christians before communicating. The name is derived from *Pax Tecum*, the words addressed to the worshipper on presentation of the *Pace*. The earliest existing example is in the Collegiata of Cividale Friuli, and is of the eighth century. It is of gilded silver, decorated with jewels. In the fifteenth century the *Paci* were generally wrought in *niello*, a word derived from *Nigellum*, from the black enamel with which the engraved lines were filled. Vasari gives a full description of *niello* work as practised in his time (Vasari, I. p. 208). There is a tradition that the art of engraving was due to a chance discovery made by Finiguerra, who having by hazard placed a *plaque*, in which the enamel was still wet, on a packet of damp linen, found on removing it the engraved design reproduced to perfection.



in Italy," he writes, "his marvellous enamels are to be seen. He taught the art to Mazzingo the Florentine, and to Giuliano del Facchino, fairly excellent Masters, and to Giovanni Turini the Sienese."\* None of the *Paci* of Antonio are in existence, having been melted down in time of war or otherwise destroyed, but several interesting examples in *niello* and coloured enamels are to be seen in the Museo Nazionale, Florence, among them the celebrated *Crucifixion* by Finiguerra, which Cellini asserts to have been designed by Antonio himself.† This is not the case. The composition is overcrowded and without harmony or balance, the figures are

\* Vasari, III. p. 288. This is an error. Both Mazzingo and Giuliano del Facchino, goldsmiths employed in the mint of Florence, were many years older than Antonio.

† "Si vede di sua mano" (Finiguerra's) "una Pace con un Crocifisso drentovi insieme con i due ladroni e con molti ornamenti di cavagli e di altre cose, fatta sotto il disegno di Antonio del Pollajuolo . . . ed è intagliata e niellata di mano del detto Maso." (Cellini, "Trattati dell' Oreficeria," p. 13.) This is the only surviving example of Finiguerra's work. It was executed in 1452 for the Church of S. Giovanni. The *Coronation of the Virgin*, done in 1455, until recently attributed to Finiguerra, also in the Museo Nazionale, is by Matteo di Giovanni Dei. (See Milanese's article published in "L'Arte," 1884, I. p. 70.) It shows chiefly the influence of Fra Filippo.

Dr. Kristeller attributes to Antonio the following prints from niello-plates. The "Fountain of Love" in the Museo Malaspina, Pavia, also given to him by Burckhardt, the "Fortitude" in that of Baron Edmond de Rothschild, (executed for Antonio's patron, Gentil Virginio Orsini, as the presence of his *stemma* shows) and the "Beheading of a Prisoner" in the Cabinet of Engravings, Parma. See "Die Italienische Niellodrucke und der Kupferstich des XV. Jahrhundert" "Jahrbuch für Künstliche Kunstwissenschaft," 1894, p. 94.

weak in action and faulty in drawing, and show complete ignorance of anatomy. In the foreground to the right are two soldiers which faintly recall the type of Antonio, but it is probable that this likeness was derived from Andrea dal Castagno, by whom Finiguerra was also influenced.

But if no specimen of Antonio's *niello* engraving has survived the melting-pot we have, in the reliefs of the Silver Cross of S. Giovanni (Plate IV.) superb examples of his early goldsmith's work, although the enamels which filled them have long since dropped away. This Reliquary—his earliest existing work of which we have certain date—was commissioned in 1457 to contain the most precious relic of the Republic, the fragment of the True Cross, which tradition asserts to have been presented to the city by Charlemagne. The relic consists of a large piece of unjoined wood in the form of a cross, on which is carved the figure of Christ, the head crowned with a mitre instead of thorns, the feet pierced by two nails instead of one, a mode of representation which proves it to have been carved before the thirteenth century. It was originally contained in a portable Cross of much smaller dimensions, and was carried in procession on the rare occasions when the most precious relics were exhibited to the public.\* The Cross of Antonio is now placed on the Silver Altar in the Museo

\* In the Spogli di Carlo Strozzi, under the date August 13, 1455, is the following record. "Una processione si fa per 4 dì per la vittoria ottenuta per i cristiani contro i turchi nella quale l'arcivescovo porta per ultimo in mano una reliquia, una croce grande d'argento

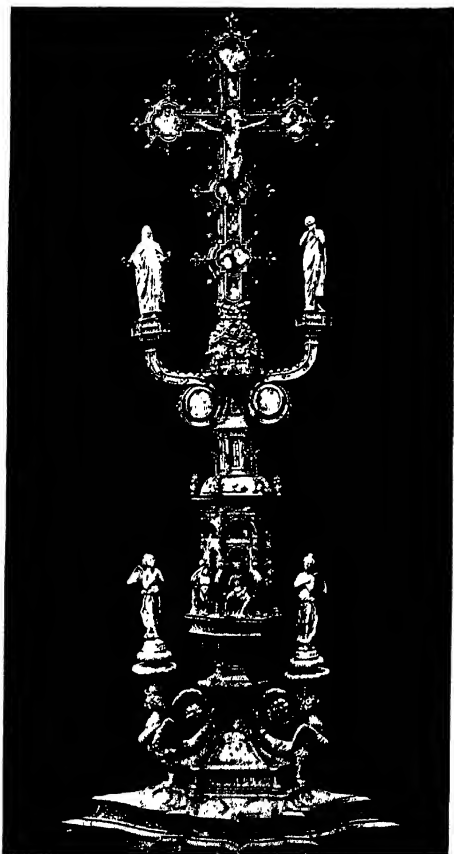
dell' Opera del Duomo, but the relic is no longer within, having been transferred to its present Reliquary in the eighteenth century, at which date the Cross suffered many changes and additions.

The history of the commission is as follows. In 1456—7 the Università della Mercatanzia, which had charge of the principal Churches, considering the older Reliquary unworthy of the importance of the relic, decided to replace it by a larger and more magnificent one of silver decorated with enamels. On February 14, 1457 (N.S.) the discussion as to the goldsmiths to be employed took place, and on April 30 the work was distributed as follows. The upper part—the Cross—was given to Betto di Francesco Betti, and the lower—the Reliquary itself—to Antonio Pollaiuolo and Miliano di Domenico Dei. (Doc. IX. p 274.)

Two years later, 1459, the work was completed, and the total cost was 3036 florins, 6 lire, 18 soldi, 4 danari. Of this sum Betto Betti received 1030 florins, 3 lire, 5 soldi, while the larger part—2006 florins, 3 lire, 13 soldi, 7 danari, was paid to Antonio. Of Miliano Dei no further mention is made in the documents, and it is probable that he either died or renounced his share of the commission.

In its present state the Reliquary is much changed by additions made in the eighteenth century, when the relic

nella quale era una crocetta che si dice essere del legno della croce di Cristo la quale fu comperata da uno Greco che disse haverla levata di Gostantinopli quando fu presa dai Turchi." (Delib. de' Consoli 1455-1459. Spogli Strozzi, "Arch. di Stato," I, c. 214<sup>t</sup>.)



*Alinari*

SILVER CROSS. BY BETTO BETTI AND ANTONIO  
POLLAIUOLO. MUSEO DELL' OPERA DEL  
DUOMO, FLORENCE

*Face p. 48*



was removed and the Cross was turned into a Crucifix. These alterations were made in all probability by the celebrated goldsmith Bernardo Holzmann, who was employed at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries in restoring the Reliquaries of S. Maria del Fiore and S. Giovanni. The present tabernacle to which the relic was transferred bears the date 1702, which may be accepted as that of the changes and additions to the old Cross.

There is no documentary notice to determine what these alterations were, and opinion differs on several points, but all are agreed that the figure of Christ on the Cross, the statuettes of the Virgin and Evangelist on the branches, and the sphynxes below, with the brackets they support, belong to the eighteenth century. Dr. Mackowsky is of opinion that the seated figures of the Baptist and the Angels, which fill the niches of the Tabernacle, as well as several of the minor ornaments belong to the same date. These disputed points will be discussed later.

The upper part—the Cross of Betto Betti—is much better preserved than the lower. The reliefs still retain the enamels, which flash and glow as brilliantly as when they were executed nearly five centuries ago. The back is decorated as elaborately as the front, and it is to be regretted that in its present position on the Altar an examination is nearly impossible. On both sides are six medallions containing figures enamelled in brilliant colours. In front at the top is God the Father, a strange gnome-like figure, seated with one leg tucked

under him. Below, hidden by the head of Christ, is the Pelican with spread wings, feeding its young from its breast, symbolic of Christ. On the two arms are the Virgin and the Magdalen, and below a weeping old man, (probably representing S. Peter) and the Evangelist. Between each medallion is an angel, standing or flying horizontally, according to the space to be filled. The colours are exceedingly rich, chiefly moss-greens, peacock blues and deep crimsons, which glow like gems and flash back their deep tones to the light.

On the back the medallions contain the following figures. In the centre the Lamb with the Flag, representing the sacrifice of Christ, and around the four Evangelists, while below is the Boy-Baptist in the desert. The intervening spaces are filled, like those in front, with angels, with the exception of the arms, on which lie two figures, whose names—ISAIA and IEREMIAS—are inscribed on scrolls. In all these reliefs there is a suggestion of early German art, *bizarre* and half grotesque.

The Cross is surrounded by small Florentine lilies alternating with decorated bosses, and these lilies are considered by Dr. Mackowsky to belong to the eighteenth century additions. To me however they appear to be part of the original design. It springs from the petals of a lily, which rests upon a tiny Calvary, minutely worked, on which are carved in high relief the symbolic skull and snake. It is surrounded by a little fortified town with towers and battlemented walls, and below

branch out two brackets for the support of statuettes. These certainly belong to the original design, but the figures they support are modern. On the volutes are medallions both back and front. Those behind contain a very beautiful *Annunciation* the work of Antonio Pollaiuolo, those in front, two Saints seated on the ground in a landscape. These from the contrast of style to that of Antonio, have been attributed to Miliano Dei, but a comparison of the work with the medallions on the Cross proves them to be by Betto Betti. On one is an old man in the dress of a monk, on the other a youthful saint. They perhaps represent S. Augustine and S. John the Evangelist, but as they are without symbols it is difficult to determine. They are curiously constructed, and have the same gnome-like German appearance as all the foregoing figures. They sit on the ground with outstretched necks in strange ungainly postures. The coarse features have a very earnest expression, but are yet almost grotesque. The foreshortening of the leg of the old saint is badly indicated, and the draperies are treated with an uncouthness that show the artist to have no sense for the beauty of line. The old saint, squatted rather than seated, with one leg tucked under him, resembles almost exactly God the Father in the top medallion. These are the only works of Betto Betti known to me, but his style is so personal, so strange and uncouth, with its strong suggestion of German influence, that did others exist, they would be recognized without difficulty.



The lower part of the Cross has suffered much damage, the enamels being almost entirely broken away. Here and there only a touch of colour remains. This is hardly to be regretted from the student's point of view, since the exposure of the metal has rendered it possible to take casts, without which, owing to the inaccessible position of the Cross, it would be impossible to study these early examples of Antonio's art.\* There are fifteen reliefs, and most of them of the greatest importance for the influence they evidently had upon contemporary and later work. A few of them however are so inferior in quality as to suggest that they were left to the hand of assistants.

The largest and most elaborate of the reliefs is that which decorates the base of the Cross, representing the Baptism of Christ. The composition differs in no way from that of Verrocchio in his painting now in the Accademia, and both bear a strong resemblance to the small panel by Alesso Baldovinetti in the same gallery.† In the centre stands the Herculean figure of Christ, his arms folded across his chest, looking like a pugilist resting after a fight. The legs are crossed one behind the other, in an attitude repeated many times by Antonio, an attitude somewhat conventional but indi-

\* Casts of all the details of Antonio's work can be obtained at the atelier of Giuseppe Lelli, 95 Corso dei Tintori, Florence. Photographs of the reliefs are reproduced in Dr. Mackowsky's article "Das Silberkreuz für den Johannisaltar im Museo di S. Maria del Fiore zu Florenz." *Jahrbuch der K. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, 1902, p. 235.

† No. 233. In the Gallery attributed to Fra Angelico.

cative of great muscular strength. He is nude except for the loin-cloth, and the torso and limbs have the development of the athletes of Michelangelo. The realistic treatment of this Christ gives at once the keynote to the spirit in which Antonio worked. The opportunity offered by the nude to portray his favourite brawny type, he seized without considering the character and scene he was representing, and never has Christ been presented in so material a guise. Verrocchio in his Accademia painting evidently had this relief in his mind, for his Christ is of the same build and type, and might well have been drawn from the same model, but he has sought in some measure by the expression of the face to adapt it to the character, whereas Antonio has uncompromisingly presented a nude pugilist. The realistic treatment of the Christ is in sharp contrast to the stiff and conventional figure of the Baptist, who strides forward with the same ungainly gesture as in Verrocchio's painting, both seeming to be imitated from the panel of Baldovinetti. This likeness between the relief of Antonio and the painting of Verrocchio, and their common resemblance to Alesso's panel, is important, as pointing to their probable connection as fellow students in his *bottega*. The interest of both artists has been centred on the nude Christ, and both have been content to imitate, even to its faults of structure and movement, the conventional figure of the Baptist which must have been familiar to them in the painting of their Master. It is probable that Baldovinetti's small panel is a *replica* of some larger and more

important work, now lost, for the composition was evidently popular, and superseded the earlier treatment of the scene, of which we have an example in the *trecento* reliefs of the Silver Altar.

To the left of the scene kneel two Angels, characteristic figures, with large scythe-like wings and voluminous draperies, which we shall find many times repeated in the earlier work of Antonio.

On either side of the Baptism is a relief representing a Father of the Church, seated on a high-backed throne in full episcopal costume—on the front SS. Augustine and Jerome, on the back SS. Ambrose and Gregory. Of these figures the finest is S. Augustine, superbly posed and gazing upward with inspired expression. The draperies are arranged in large free folds, and the long-fingered beautiful hands are characteristic. The other three seem to have been left to assistants. Their attitudes are somewhat cramped, the draperies less free and structural, and the faces more commonplace.

Next in importance to the Baptism is the relief in the centre of the base, representing Moses holding high up, with menacing gesture, the tablet of the law. It is a superb figure, and with its fierce face and noble action recalls so strongly Michelangelo's Prophets of the Sistine Chapel, and his *Moses* of S. Pietro in Vincoli, as to suggest its influence upon those works. It is treated with a breadth and grandeur which in spite of its actual dimensions give the impression of colossal size.

On either side is a medallion representing the Virtues Faith and Hope. These show marked differences in style and quality. The Faith, ill-posed with wide-spread knees and coarsely treated draperies, is evidently the work of an assistant, while the Hope is one of the most beautiful and characteristic of Antonio's figures. She is seated, her body swung round in free and graceful pose, her long delicate fingers pressed together in adoration. Her draperies emphasize the fine modelling of the limbs. Her large scythe-like wings seem to cut the air behind her. The foreshortening of the right thigh, in the extremely low relief, is admirably managed. It is interesting to compare the simple severity of this Hope with the mannered and restless figure on the Tombs of the Popes executed thirty years later.

On either side of these medallions is affixed a small shield, bearing the arms of the Mercatanzia—an eagle perched on a woollen sack—strong fierce birds, splendidly designed. Beyond these again are two medallions with the other Virtues, Temperance and Charity, insignificant figures, probably executed by assistants. The latter is repeated with slight variations in the centre of the pedestal immediately below the Tabernacle.

On either side of these is an Angel who, with arms truculently folded on its chest, rushes forward with the impetus of the wind. Antonio's conception of an Angel is original and characteristic. It is neither graceful nor gentle, but audacious in bearing, violent in

action, and with the muscular development of a prize-fighter. This material conception is redeemed by the beauty of the large wings and of the fluttering draperies. The counterpart of these figures will be found frescoed above the Altar in the Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal, S. Miniato, painted by Antonio several years later.

On the volutes at the back of the Cross, corresponding with Betto Betti's Saints, are medallions containing the Archangel Gabriel and the Virgin, one of those romantic and poetic scenes, which now and then break through his usual blunt realism. Curiously enough some critics have supposed these exquisite figures to be by the same hand as the uncouth Saints in front, and have attributed all four medallions to Miliano Dei. They are however thoroughly characteristic of Antonio both in type and treatment. In one the Virgin kneels on the flowered grass before a reading desk. One finger marks the place upon her open book as in the painting of Verrochio in the Uffizi. These hands are of the greatest beauty—the long delicate hand peculiar to Antonio. The severely arranged draperies model her shoulders and arms, and hang about her in noble simplicity. In the other the Archangel, with large sharp wings, has just alighted, as we are made aware by a subtle seizure of transitory movement. The pose is easy and graceful, with its gesture of reverential salutation—wings and draperies correspond with those of the vehement angels on the base, while the long body and simple robes of the Virgin recall those in the

relief executed by Antonio later for the Silver Altar. Both figures kneel in a landscape, which, though indicated only by a few trees and flowered grass, is wonderfully suggestive of space and open air. The two medallions form one of the most exquisite Annunciations of the fifteenth century.

The Tabernacle below, in which the relic was formerly enclosed, represents a little temple of beautiful proportions, the roof of which is covered with tiles of blue enamel, decorated with the crescent and star, in allusion to the Turkish origin of the relic. Its original state is a matter of dispute. Dr. Mackowsky considers that the statuettes in the niches—two seated Baptists and four Angels—belong to the eighteenth-century additions, partly because he finds the style modern, partly because he holds the repetition of the same figures, back and front, to be out of character with the epoch. The larger statuettes of angels, standing on the sphynx-supported brackets, which resemble these, he claims to belong to the original work, supposing that they occupied the place on the branches above, where now are the modern statuettes of the Virgin and Evangelist. My own studies lead me to a different conclusion—namely, that the small figures in the Tabernacle belong to the original work, and the larger Angels imitated from them to the eighteenth-century additions. That the niches were intended for statuettes there can be no question; the figure of the Baptist has everything in common with Antonio's style, is finely constructed and well posed, and has the severity of the epoch, while the Angels

with their beautiful wings and draperies are much more in Antonio's character than those on the pedestals, which, with their sentimental gesture and affected expression, have decidedly an eighteenth century air. That figures of Angels however originally stood on the upper brackets, where now are the Virgin and Evangelist, is probable, for we find them in similar work, apparently copied from this, the most noted example of which is the enamelled Reliquary of S. Girolamo executed in 1487 in direct imitation.\* It is possible that the original figures (which, being on the upper part of the Cross, were probably executed by Betto Betti and not by Antonio) were destroyed or lost, and that Bernardo Holzmann the restorer, through whose hands the S. Girolamo Reliquary also passed, replaced them in imitation of this. The small vases filled with flowers surmounting the temple seem also to have been added by him.

In the tiny details of this Reliquary—the first dated work of Antonio, and as such the standard and starting-point in the study of his development—we have found the most characteristic examples of his style, delicate goldsmith's work, which yet has had its influence on paintings and sculpture, the greatest which modern art has produced. It is impossible to look at the *Baptism* without being reminded of the painting of Verrocchio, at the *Annunciation* without recalling the stag-like figures of Botticelli, at the *Moses* without thinking of

\* By an unknown artist. The Reliquary is preserved in the Tabernacle of S. Antonio Abate in the Duomo. It was restored by Holzmann in 1693.

Michelangelo. In general design, denuded of the eighteenth-century additions the work is faultless, the carvings, technically considered, are a marvel of low relief. And it is besides important as offering at the outset evidence of the unconscious struggle between the man and the artist, of which we are made aware throughout his work. The noble energetic figure of Moses, the muscular pugilist who poses as Christ, the dainty figures and romantic setting of the Annunciation, the vehement, rushing Angels—all bear witness to the conflicting elements which makes his work of so great psychological interest—the innate love of beauty and refinement, the idolatry of brute-force, and the scientific interests in which his intellect was centred.

The Cross was first used in 1483, at the date of the completion of the Silver Altar. Both Reliquary and Altar were prized as the most precious treasures of the Republic, and in time of war, when finances were low and other works in precious metal were pawned to meet expenses, they alone were spared. Only once, in 1529, was the Cross in danger, when, the city being in urgent need of money, it was pledged to the banker Camillo Antinori, for the sum of 1500 florins. It was however redeemed shortly after for 1650 florins.

In 1465 Antonio was commissioned by the same Arte dei Mercatanti to execute two Silver Candlesticks to accompany the Cross (Doc. XV. p. 272). They are described as being enriched with enamels and carved with figures and reliefs, and probably resembled it in design. They were  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *braccia* in height and the total cost was 1548



florins, Antonio being paid at the rate of 17 florins the *libbra*. Unfortunately they are no longer in existence, and it is probable that they were melted down in 1527, when so many treasures of the Church were destroyed to meet the expenses of the war.

## CHAPTER V

### EARLY PAINTED WORK. THE HERCULES GROUP. 1460

IN comparison with his bronze and goldsmith's work painting occupied but a subordinate place in the art of Antonio Pollaiuolo. Of the large number of pictures attributed to him in public galleries and private collections, it is impossible to accept more than eleven as genuine, and of these, four are the joint work of him and his brother. From all that can be gathered, it seems probable that as soon as Piero was old enough to assist him, Antonio, preoccupied with his other work, left to him the greater share in the paintings for which he received commissions. It is certain that four out of the seven oil paintings, executed entirely by him, date from a time when Piero was still a mere apprentice. In the dearth of documents it is difficult to decide with any degree of certainty the chronological order of his paintings. Not one of them is dated, and only by inference do we obtain the approximate time of three, —the two small Hercules panels, which must have been painted about 1460, and the frescoes and Altarpiece of

the Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal, S. Miniato, which date from about 1465. Vasari gives the year of the S. Sebastian of the National Gallery as 1475, but the statement is unsupported by any evidence. Recent investigation has proved the Newhaven *Hercules and Nessus* to have been painted before 1467. This is all the aid to a chronology that is forthcoming. The order of execution must then be judged by the development discerned in the paintings themselves, by their relation to the dated bronze and goldsmith's work, and by taking into account the development of Piero. The earliest appear to be the *David* of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, the *Apollo and Daphne* of the National Gallery, and the two panels of *Hercules* in the Uffizi. In neither of the four is the hand of Piero visible. The latter may be dated 1460, the others I should be inclined to place earlier for the following reasons. The interest of Antonio in the play of muscle and violent action seems to have increased steadily with the development of his powers, and in the *Hercules* pictures is already predominating. With the exception of the *David* and the *Apollo and Daphne* not a painting by him exists which does not suggest this preoccupation, his treatment of the theme being determined by his desire to present the nude in violent action, or to seize some transient and difficult movement. The sense for poetry and beauty, inherent in his nature, was eclipsed by these intellectual interests, and manifests itself indirectly and unconsciously. But in these two paintings the sentiment is purely romantic, and the

figures are constructed with a grace and daintiness in marked contrast to his usual robust, half savage type. In both there is something which suggests the idyllic sentiment of youth, to which the interest in physical strength is subordinate. It is true that in the *Apollo* his passion for seizing swift and transitory movement is revealed, but the picture is conceived in a spirit as romantic as a mediæval poem. Later he would have seized the opportunity offered by the theme to represent Apollo as a nude athlete, and have laid stress on the action of the limbs and the play of muscle. Instead he is clad in the daintiest of costumes, painted with the love of Carpaccio for beautiful clothes, and the limbs beneath have no exaggerated development. There is more poetry than attempt at realism in the way the large bay-branches sprout from the fingers of Daphne, forming a sort of grove. Behind them stretches the Arno Valley, through which the river winds like a snake, and this characteristic landscape is treated with a mixture of realism and poetry which never varies in his paintings of scenery.

The small panel is painted with the delicacy of a miniature. The colour is rich and dark, with warm crimsons and deep-toned greens, and has that gem-like glow and depth which must have been imitated from jewels. At whatever date it was painted Antonio had already little to learn in anatomy. The rapid movement of Apollo as he seizes the nymph is presented with his usual science, and the action is full of life and energy. It is probable, from its classic character, that

it was painted at the commission of Lorenzo or Giuliano de' Medici, but its history is unknown.\*

Equally romantic in feeling is the small painting of *David*, No. 73A of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin. (Plate V.) The youth stands with his slender legs firmly planted on either side of the giant's head, clad as daintily as the Apollo, in a coat of chestnut-coloured velvet, lined and trimmed with white fur, and a blue tunic brocaded with gold. The figure, vibrating with energy as it is, has none of the superficial manifestations of strength, and is certainly drawn from no *atelier* model. He is as delicately built as a woman, and has a woman's slender hands. Neither is there any attempt at realism in the accessories. He stands against a slate-gray wall, or screen, as in many of the portrait figures of the time, and, but for the sling and the head of the giant, might pass as the portrait of some young Florentine noble. And this is probably the case, for the sensitive face with the pale eyes and melancholy expression is very individual, and was certainly not chosen as representative of the young David, for which Donatello had already set the type in Florentine art. Nothing could be more different than this youth and the arrogant striplings of Donatello and Verrocchio. Like Judith, David was adopted by the Florentines as the symbolic personage representing the liberty of the

\* No 928 of the National Gallery. Its *provenance* is unknown. In 1845 it was in the collection of Mr. W. Coningham, and later in that of Mr. Wynn Ellis, by whom in 1876 it was bequeathed to the National Gallery.



*Graph. Gesellschaft, Berlin*

DAVID. BY ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO. KAISER FRIEDRICH  
MUSEUM, BERLIN

*Face p. 64*



Republic, and it is not unlikely that a member of the Medici family may have chosen to be portrayed in that character. The face resembles strongly the portrait by Botticelli in the Uffizi of a young man in a red cap, who holds between his hands the medal of Cosimo il Vecchio. The features are identical. In both paintings we see the same delicate face with prominent cheek bones, the same heavy-lidded pale-gray eyes, the same shock of brown hair growing low on the broad forehead, the same curved melancholy mouth. The likeness is undeniable, but it does not aid in discovering the original, for the portrait of Botticelli has never been satisfactorily identified. At one time called the *Portrait of a Medallist* it now bears the name of Piero di Lorenzo de' Medici, although it has no resemblance to his face as portrayed by Bronzino in the series of Medici portraits. Later critics have suggested a name equally unsatisfactory—Giovanni, uncle of Lorenzo. But again, although there is some resemblance in colouring, in expression the face differs completely from that of the accepted portraits. If it be really Giovanni it could not have been painted from life, for he died at the age of forty-two, when Botticelli was only seventeen, and the portrait represents a man of at most twenty-five. It would be of interest could the features of the two portraits be identified, for the date of Antonio's painting would then be approximately fixed. The presence of the medal points to the probability that Botticelli's portrait represents some youth of the Medici family, or at least closely connected



with it, but I have searched in vain among portraits and medals for the same features and expression.

The *David* is officially ascribed to Piero, an unreasonable attribution, since, while it has everything in common with the best work of Antonio in energy, in form and in colour, it resembles in nothing the feeble work of Piero. The spare figure full of concentrated force, in which every bone is accentuated, whose feet, gripping the ground, are planted with the resolution of a warrior by Signorelli, differs completely from the puffy forms of Piero, which seem inflated with air and have as little weight and balance as a bladder. If a comparison between the work of the two brothers be desired, let the reader turn to the Altarpiece of S. Sebastian (p. 15), where in the legs of the foreground archer to the left, may be seen a precise copy of those of the *David*, apparently imitated either from this picture or some preliminary study. They are alike only in form however, for in passing through the hand of Piero they have been robbed of all vitality. The *David* is a masterpiece of fine draughtsmanship and technical perfection, of which Piero in his most mature years was incapable.

The date of the two small panels in the Uffizi, (No. 1153) (Plates VI. and VII.) representing the Combats of Hercules with the Hydra and with Antæus, is approximately fixed by their connection with the three large canvases, now lost, painted by Antonio for Lorenzo de' Medici in 1460. The letter in which he refers to these paintings, stating them to have been executed by



*Alinari*

HERCULES SLAYING THE HYDRA. BY ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO  
UFFIZI, FLORENCE

*Face p. 66*



himself and his brother in that year, has been already quoted (p. 17). It is certain that the share of Piero must have been limited to the most subordinate parts since he was only seventeen at the time. It is generally supposed that the small panels were painted as studies for the canvases, but considering the miniature-like care with which they are finished, and for other reasons that will be stated presently, they must hold an independent position, though it is most likely that they were painted about the same time. They belonged to the Medici Collection, probably to Lorenzo himself, and it may be that he valued them so highly as to order them to be copied on a larger scale.

Of the perished canvases we have the following notices. Vasari, who evidently knew them well, writes of them thus :

“In the house of the Medici Antonio painted for Lorenzo the three pictures of Hercules, five braccia high, in one of which he strangles Antæus, a most beautiful picture, in which is actually seen the effort of Hercules in the squeezing, that the muscles and nerves of the figure are all concentrated in the effort to burst Antæus ; and in the face of the said Hercules is seen the grinding of the teeth, corresponding with the other parts, which even to the toes of the feet swell with the effort. And with no less care is painted Antæus, who, squeezed in the arms of Hercules, is seen to lose all his strength, and with open mouth yield up his spirit. The other, slaying the lion, places his left knee on its chest, and gripping the jaws of the beast with both his hands, clenching his teeth and

straining his arms, tears them wide open by sheer might, although the lion to defend itself, scratches his arms horribly with its claws. The third, slaying the hydra, is certainly a marvel, especially the dragon, which is painted in a manner so vivid and precise, that it could not be more living. Here one sees so vividly the poison, the fire, the ferocity, the fury, that it is worthy of renown and to be imitated by the best artists.”\*

The canvases were painted for the large hall in the Palace of the Medici in Via Larga, now Palazzo Riccardi. In the Inventory of the possessions of Lorenzo made after his death in 1492 they were thus catalogued :

“In the large hall of Lorenzo . . . .

“A Canvas enclosed in a gilded frame, 6 braccia square, with the painting of Hercules slaying the Hydra — 20 florins . . . .

“A Canvas enclosed in a gilded frame 6 braccia square with the painting of Hercules rending the lion — 20 florins . . . .

“A Canvas of 6 braccia, enclosed in a gilded frame with the painting of Hercules strangling Antæus ; all which labours of Hercules are by the hand of Pollaiuolo — 20 florins.”†

\* Vasari, iii. p. 294.

† “Nella sala grande di Lorenzo.

“Uno panno, cornicie intorno messa d'oro, di br. 6. per ogni verso dipintovi dentro Erchole ch' amaza l'Idra—f. 20 . . .

“Uno panno, cornicie intorno messa d'oro, di br. 6. per ogni verso dipintovi drento Erchole che sbarra el Leone.—f. 20 . . .

“Uno panno di br. 6. chorniciato intorno e messo d'oro dipintovi Erchole che scoppia Anteo, tutte queste fatiche d'Erchole sono

At the expulsion of the Medici in 1495, the canvases were appropriated with other of their possessions by the Signoria, and we find them decorating the Sala del Consiglio in the Palazzo dei Priori. Albertini (making the error of attributing them to Verrocchio) thus mentions them in his "Memoriale," "In Palazo Maiore. In the old Council Hall is the picture of Philip" (Filippino Lippi) "and the three large pictures on canvas of Hercules by Verrocchio." \*

Finally we have Vasari's statement that they were copied by Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, at the commission of Giovanni Battista della Palla, agent of Francis I. to be sent to France. †

This is the last notice we have of the paintings. It is strange that works of such dimensions having occupied a prominent place in so important a public building as the Palazzo dei Priori, should have so completely disappeared. The notice of Albertini proves that they survived the destruction of 1512, when the Palazzo was used as a *caserna* for the Spanish Troops. That Vasari,

di mano del Pollaiuolo.—f. 20." Müntz, *Les Collections des Medicis au quinzième siècle*. Paris. 1888. The original inventory was copied, December 23, 1512, at the order of Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino, and it is from this copy that the above extracts are made.

\* "In Palazo maiore. Nella sala del consiglio antiquo è la tavola di Philip e li tre quadri grandi di Hercole in tela del Verrocchio."

† "Ritrasse poi" (Ridolfo Ghirlandaio) "le tre forze d'Ercole che già dipinse nel palazzo de' Medici Anton Pollaiuolo, per Giovambattista della Palla, che le mandò in Francia." Vasari, vi. p.

who expresses such admiration for the paintings, should have allowed them to be destroyed when he redecorated the Palace in 1569, is incredible, and it is also incredible that, even at an age so unappreciative of *quattrocento* art as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, works of such value should have been allowed to perish. It seems more likely that they were laid aside and forgotten, and if that be the case, it is possible that they may one day be discovered.

The small panels of the Uffizi, as representing the specific qualities of his art to perfection, take the foremost place among Antonio's paintings. In spite of the obvious preoccupation with muscular movement and vehement action, they have much of the romantic beauty of the *Apollo and Daphne* in the landscape and detail. In colour and miniature-like delicacy of execution they resemble it closely.

In the sinewy, lean figures of Hercules is concentrated the highest pitch of physical force in violent action. Each muscle is strained to its limit of tension, and as we look, we feel our pulse quicken and our muscles tighten in unconscious imitation. The strains and efforts of the limbs are focussed in the distorted features, with the wrinkled brows, clenched teeth, and lips drawn down at the corners like a savage beast. No artist has ever concentrated in a human face so much passion and brute-force as in the tiny head of Hercules strangling Antæus.

In both paintings the nude is faultless. Every detail of the underlying structure is indicated with consummate



*Alinari*

HERCULES SLAYING ANTÆUS. BY ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO  
UFFIZI, FLORENCE

*Facc p. 70*





science, the nervous force of the arms, the grip and pressure of the feet on the ground, the tension and elasticity of the strained muscles. In the combat with the Hydra the vehemence and rapidity of the movement takes one's breath away. Violence and passion have never been so vividly presented as in the hero's fierce rush on his prey, the swing of the club, and the clutch of the hand upon the neck.

In the combat with Antæus the action is collected in one supreme muscular effort, whose external manifestations are comparatively tranquil. Only by the swelling of the muscles, the grip of the feet on the ground, the grimace of the features, is the immense effort expressed. The result of the combat in both scenes is inevitable. The onslaught on the Hydra is as irresistible as the squeeze of the iron arms that forces the breath visibly from the body of Antæus.

There are other preeminent qualities, besides this marvellous concentration of energy, in the tiny panels, by which they take rank among the supreme Masterpieces of art. The composition is superb, built up in pyramidal form, and notwithstanding the violence and transitoriness of the action, it is as final as though designed for some colossal monument. From the waist downwards the figures press upon the ground with immense weight, while the torso shoots upward free as the branches of a tree.

The paintings offer good examples of Antonio's characteristic method of composition—setting his figures well in the foreground upon a prominence, which

hides the middle distance, whereby they gain grandeur and importance against the distant landscape. Notwithstanding that their actual dimensions are only a few inches high, they appear colossal, by contrast with the stretch of spacious landscape, against which they tower like huge bronze statues.

His innate sense for beauty reveals itself, in spite of his evident preoccupation with the action of the figures, in the beauty of the line and of the landscape. The curves of the lion's tail, of the skin blown out like a wind-filled sail, and of the hydra's necks, have the value of an exquisite decorative pattern, against the pale blue sky. As is invariable in the landscapes of Antonio one has the sense of spaciousness and *plein air* in spite of the somewhat heavy colouring. It is extraordinary how, with no attempt at atmospheric effect, he realizes the values of distance with such precision that we know the number of miles we could wander by the side of the winding stream before reaching the town, and beyond that again to the sky line.

The colour is of the same rich bituminous tone as the *Apollo and Daphne*—a scheme of warm browns and greens, harmoniously fused, and suggestive of polished bronze and the glow of gems. The paintings, like the foregoing, are in excellent preservation and in all four the palette of Antonio can be well studied at the outset.

That the panels were executed as independent work and not as studies for, or copies of, the lost canvases, which decorated the Palace of Lorenzo, seems probable





*Macbeth*

HERCULES SLAYING THE HYDRA. FROM AN ENGRAVING  
BY ROBETTA

*Face p. 73*

for the following reasons. Among the engravings of Robetta are two scenes of the Labours of Hercules—*The Combats with the Hydra and with Antæus*, (Plates VIII. and IX.)—which, while resembling the paintings in the principal figures, differ completely in the backgrounds and other essential points. They are generally accepted as copies from the small panels, but it seems more likely that they are more or less faithful reproductions of the lost canvases, the variations being so important and so much in the manner of Antonio's own work as to suggest that they originated, not with Robetta, but with him. Robetta, with the timidity of the inferior artist, would hardly have dared to alter so completely the background of the *Combat with the Hydra*, by adding the cave and rocks in the middle distance, still less have had the audacity to insert in the *Combat with Antæus* the strange figure of the child in the foreground, presumably representing the Infant Hercules strangling the serpents. This figure is constructed in Antonio's manner, and recalls vividly his pen study of a child blowing a trumpet on the sheet of nudes in the Uffizi, (Cornice 42. No. 246) as well as the child Cain who leans against the knee of Eve in the pen drawing (Cornice 31. No. 97f. Plate XXVII.) Moreover the cave in the *Combat with the Hydra* resembles precisely that in Antonio's Altarpiece *The Communion of S. Mary of Egypt* in Staggia. (Plate XXXIV.) Another important difference is that in Robetta's engraving the club of Hercules breaks out in flame, which occurs also in Antonio's own drawing in the British

Museum, of which we shall presently speak, but not in the Uffizi painting. The hand of Hercules also has not yet grasped the Hydra's neck, as in the painting, but is stretched out towards it, as in the drawing. These important variations, Robetta, feeble and imitative artist as he was, was incapable of inventing, and even were he capable, it would be difficult to find his reason for so changing the original. There are besides, other variations of minor importance. The Hydra of Robetta has six living heads instead of two, and their necks have not the same curve. The club is swung at a higher level, and the foot of Hercules is not set upon the severed head, but at some distance from it. It is unnecessary to give importance to the small buildings in the background or the birds in the sky, which are stylistic, and may well have been added by the engraver.\* In the *Combat with Antæus* the principal figures are similar, except that the head of the lion's skin worn by Hercules, hangs down below his thigh, and that the outstretched leg of Antæus is less foreshortened. Finally, while in the Uffizi paintings the shape of the *Combat with Antæus* differs from the other in being much narrower, in the engraving it is of the same proportions as the *Combat with the Hydra*, that is to say nearly square. It will be remembered that according to the Inventory, the lost canvases were square.

On one of the sheets of the so-called Verrocchio

\* An earlier impression than that in the British Museum, from which the reproduction is made, exists in the Albertina Collection, Vienna. It is without the clouds.



*Macbeth*

HERCULES SLAYING ANTÆUS. FROM AN ENGRAVING BY ROBERTA

*Face p. 74*





Sketch-Book in the Louvre Collection, is a pen-drawing of Hercules slaying the Hydra, accepted as a copy of the Uffizi painting, but which follows more closely the engraving of Robetta. The hand, as there, has not yet grasped the Hydra's neck, but is stretched towards it, and resembles precisely that of Robetta, while the tail of the lion's skin instead of flying out behind, as in the painting, hangs down between the legs, as in the engraving.

Taking into account the resemblance between the drawings of Antonio, of the anonymous author of the Sketch-Book, and of the engraving, and the Pollaiuolo-esque character of Robetta's variations, it seems probable that these engravings were copied more or less faithfully not from the small paintings of the Uffizi—but from the lost canvases painted for Lorenzo. In the so-called Raffaello Sketch-Book in the Accademia, Venice, is another sketch, in the style of Antonio, of the *Combat with the Nemæan Lion*, which may possibly be a study from the third. The paintings must certainly have been well known, occupying as they did important positions, first in the house of Lorenzo and after in the Palazzo dei Priori, and it is more likely that Robetta and the author of the Sketch-Book should have known and copied them, than the small panels secluded in the Medici private rooms.

To return to the pen-sketch by Antonio in the British Museum, which represents Hercules swinging his club in act to slay the Hydra. It corresponds in action with the painted figure, but has the important

differences that the point of the club breaks out in flame and that the hand has not yet grasped the Hydra's neck. These variations, resembling as they do, those in Robetta's engraving, suggest that it was a study, not for the small panel, but for the lost canvas. It is a magnificent sketch, rapidly touched in with clean decisive strokes, as spirited and full of fire as a drawing by Leonardo. For energy of action it is quite equal to the painting, but the proportions of the figure are not so faultless, the arms being somewhat too small and the legs too large for the body. It is a study of action rather than of form.\*

The two engravings attributed to Antonio by Bartsch, one representing the Combat with Antæus, the other Hercules fighting the Giants are neither executed by him. A fragment however by his own hand of a cartoon for some painting or wall decoration from which the latter must have been copied, exists in the Collection of the Earl of Pembroke, Wilton House. It is in pen and sepia, the figures being relieved against a dark washed background. Full of energy and vibrating with fury they fight with bow and sabre. Only three entire figures remain, but parts of others are to be seen, and from these fragmentary parts—a shoulder, fluttering ribbons, feet—we are able to reconstruct the action of the complete body. The energy and ferocity concentrated in the face and

\* It was first attributed to Antonio by Morelli, having before passed, most unaccountably, under the name of Ridolfo Ghirlandajo. See Morelli, "Die Galerie zu Berlin," p. 30, Note 2.

gesture of the soldier drawing his bow, and the grip on the sabre of the other's hand, are as well presented as in the Hercules panels.

It was probably the fame of the large Medici canvases which made the Labours of Hercules so favourite a theme in the art of the fifteenth century. The subject appealed to the realistic and dramatic tendencies of the artists, as affording scope for the display of the nude in violent action, and pleased the tastes of the commissioners, grown classic under the influence of the Medici. They figured in the most incongruous surroundings, as decoration for the thrones of Madonnas, for marriage chests, for saloons, and even in the ornamentation of the Tomb erected by Charles VIII. in the Cathedral of Tours, to the memory of his children, who died when they were merely infants; and all the representations show the influence of Antonio.\*

Antonio is at his best in treating this subject, which lent itself to his special interests in representing the nude in violent action. We have from his brush another painting, which although not entirely by his own hand, nor of equal merit with the Uffizi panel, is yet one of his most important and characteristic works.

\* M. Reymond thinks it possible that Antonio might himself have furnished designs for the reliefs of the Tours Tomb, which represent three of the Labours of Hercules,—Hercules supporting the pillars of the earth, the Combats with the Hydra and with Antæus—and three from the life of Samson. The Tomb is conceived in the style of that of Sixtus IV. in S. Peter's and is obviously imitated from Antonio. See Reymond, "Le Buste de Charles VIII.," (*"Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques,"* 1895, p. 242.)

This is the *Hercules and Nessus* now in the Jarves Collection, New Haven, U.S.A. (Plate X.) The date of this picture cannot be far distant from the Uffizi panels, for in the collection of Sir Frederick Cook, Richmond, is a Florentine *Cassone*, on the ends of which are painted copies of it and of the *Combat with the Hydra*. This *Cassone* dates in all probability from 1467, since it bears the united arms of the Carnesecchi and the Lanfredini, and the intermarriage of these families took place in that year, between Giuliano Carnesecchi and Cassandra Lanfredini.\* Antonio's painting must therefore have been in existence at that date, but considering the greater maturity shown in Piero's share of the work, than in the Altarpiece of S. Miniato, painted about 1465, it can hardly be placed before that, and we may accept 1467 as about the date of the painting, as well as of the *Cassone* copy. It was originally painted on wood but is now transferred to canvas, and has suffered much from cleaning and repaint. When bought for the collection the Deianira was painted completely out, the body of the horse and the landscape being continued over the figure. This over-painting seemed contemporary, and it is suggested by the compiler of the Catalogue that it may have been done by one of the Pollaiuoli, at the time of Savonarola's attack on the nude. This however seems improbable since it is incredible that even a Piagnone

\* See Herbert Cook, "The New Haven Pollaiuolo," "Burlington Magazine," 1906, p. 53.



HERCULES AND NESSUS. BY ANTONIO AND PIERO POLLAIUOLO. JARVES COLLECTION  
NEW HAVEN, U.S.A.

(By kind permission of Mr. Herbert Randall, New Haven)



could find indecency in this draped figure, which besides resembles a puppet rather than a human being.

Antonio's share in the painting is confined to the Hercules, and to the beautiful landscape which stretches away into the sky with a spaciousness and effect of distance even more successful than in the Uffizi panels. It is the finest of his landscapes, one of the truest portraits of Florence and the Arno valley that exists. It shows all the important buildings with the fidelity of a photograph, the Duomo, the Campanile, the Baptistry, Or S. Michele, and the Signoria, can all be discerned enclosed in the oval curves of the walls. The lean sinewy figure of Hercules is of the same build as those in the Uffizi paintings, and equally well constructed, if somewhat less fine in action. It offers in its energy and splendid modelling a sharp contrast to the weak, ill-constructed figures of the Centaur and Deianira, whose actions are as awkward and trivial as those of a mechanical toy. The head and body of Nessus seem to have been repainted and to have lost much of their *quattrocento* character, but in the Deianira we have a good example of Piero's early work, since, thanks to the care with which the overpainting was removed, it is the least injured part of the picture. It would be difficult to conceive action more constrained and awkward than in these two figures, with their heads and limbs stretched in different directions. The ill-constructed body, sentimental expression and puffy modelling of the Deianira is characteristic of Piero's work at this epoch.



That the painting was well known is proved by the fact that Dürer imitated, with but little variation, the figure of Hercules in his picture dated 1500—*The Combat with the Stymphalides*—now in the Germanischen Museum, Nürnberg.\* Attitude and gesture are copied almost exactly, but where the Hercules of Antonio vibrates with energy in every muscle of the supple body, that of Dürer, loosely jointed and flaccid, seems heavy and inert.

In the Collection of Herr von Beckerath, Berlin, is a pen-sketch pricked for transfer, attributed to Antonio himself, representing the Hercules of the New Haven painting. The figure varies little from the original, of which it is obviously a copy. It stands in the same attitude, drawing the arrow to the head, but it is ill-balanced, the legs are too long, and the feet have no grip on the ground. Mr. Berenson thinks that Dürer's acquaintance with the Hercules was probably derived from this drawing, and if this be so the lack of energy in his figure would be less remarkable. It is to be noticed that in his study for the picture, which exists in the Ducal Palace, Darmstadt, the figure is far less Pollaiuolesque than in the finished painting.

Before leaving the group, attention may be drawn to a little known, but exceedingly powerful sepia study of a male head in the Santarelli Collection in the Uffizi, which resembles so much the Hercules of the foregoing pictures as to suggest that it was drawn from the same

\* Not exposed. Officially attributed to an unknown artist of the fifteenth century.





*Alinari*

HERCULES SLAYING ANTÆUS. BRONZE STATUETTE. BY ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO. MUSEO NAZIONALE, FLORENCE

*Face p. 81*

model. The face is in repose, but in its bony construction and the arrangement of hair and beard, it is exactly similar, while the flattened nose which looks as though it had been broken, suggests that it was an *atelier* study from the life. The connection of the drawing with Antonio is due to Mr. Berenson, who however, considers it to be merely a copy. To me it seems to have the quality of his own work. The face is admirably modelled with his peculiar feeling for bone, and the touch has energy and decision.

In sculpture, out of the numerous statuettes and reliefs of the Hercules subject attributed to Antonio, but three can be accepted as genuine. These are the small bronze group of the *Combat with Antæus*, (Plate XI.) and the two reliefs on the breastplate of the Young Warrior, both in the Museo Nazionale, Florence. Statuette and bust are evidently early work. The former was in the collection of the Medici, and was probably executed for Giuliano, for in the Inventory of their possessions, made in 1495, it is catalogued as being in his private apartment.\* Full of force and energy as they are, the figures are not equal either in construction or action to those of the paintings. It is but a rough sketch in bronze, left unchiselled as it issued from the mould, and the details are merely suggested, the hands and feet, the features and the

\* "Uno Erchole che scoppia Anteo, di bronzo tutto, alto br.  $\frac{1}{2}$ . f. 2. Nella chamera che risponde sulla via chiamata di Monsignore dove sta Giuliano." Müntz, "Les Collections des Médicis au XV<sup>me</sup> Siècle," Paris, 1888, p. 85.

tortoises on which the pedestal rests, being very roughly indicated. The face of the Hercules, powerful as it is, verges on caricature, with its huge nose and flattened skull. Yet though it would be unfair to compare the group with the highly finished paintings of the Uffizi, in concentration of energy it falls short hardly at all of these.\*

The two groups carved on the breastplate of the terracotta bust of a Young Warrior, No. 161 of the Museo Nazionale, (Plate XII.) are worked so elaborately that they may be considered among this series as independent reliefs, apart from the bust they decorate. On one side Hercules slays the Stymphalian bird,

\* It is perhaps hardly necessary to refute the attribution to Antonio of the bronze statuettes, called "Marsyas," exhibited in the same cabinet as the Hercules, for they have no resemblance whatever to his style, and seem to be copies from some antique original. There are four of these figures, each slightly varied. Two are entered in the Inventory of the Medici possessions, made by the Grand Duke Ferdinand in 1589, as follows. "Una figurina di bronzo moderno detta una paura, alta soldi 11 posa sur una base ornata di legname colorita di mistio" . . . "Una figura di bronzo antico intera igniuda d'una paura posa sur una basa di bronzo alta braccia 5." And again in the Inventory of 1684. "Una statuette di bronzo alta soldi undici di un giovane che ha intorno alla bocca una fascia e fa atti con le mani" . . . "Una figurina tutta di bronzo che fa atti con le mani e pare che abbia una fascia alla bocca e posa sopra una basa lunga pure di bronzo, il tutto alto  $\frac{2}{3}$  in circha." Other more detailed descriptions are given in later inventories. The other two statuettes were bought in 1769. (See *Catalogo del R. Museo Nazionale*, 1898, p. 386.) Other copies exist in the Berlin Museum, in the Louvre, and in the Collection of Mr. Pierpont Morgan. In the so-called Raffaele Sketch-Book are studies of the figure drawn from several points of view.



*Alinari*

BUST OF YOUNG WARRIOR. TERRA COTTA. BY ANTONIO  
POLLAIUOLO. MUSEO NAZIONALE. FLORENCE

*Face p. 82*



gripping its throat with the same energy as in the *Combat with the Hydra*, in the other he strangles the serpents. So vigorous in action are the figures, so concentrated in effort, that the eye involuntarily rests first upon them, diverted somewhat unduly from the face above. As the bust dates most likely from the same period as the early paintings of Antonio, it may be considered here. It is probably a portrait of one of the Medici, whose type of face and arrogant bearing it resembles closely. It is evidently modelled with the intention of casting in bronze, and the clay has been painted in imitation, either by Antonio himself or subsequently. This paint has cracked in places and peeled off to the great damage of the delicate modelling. It has suffered much in other ways, the arms having apparently been broken from the shoulder, which gives it a curious jar-like look. The dragon-shaped helmet is also much broken, little remaining but the legs of the beast. Yet in spite of all this damage, the bust seems to fill the room with its buoyant, vivacious life. In expression the face has something of the audacious insolence of the *David* and *S. Lorenzo* of Donatello, but the audacity is mixed with charming boyish frankness, and the curled lips are as sensitive as a girl's. The face is exquisitely modelled, with a realism as absolute as any modern portrait, and there is no trace of convention in conception or treatment. Putting aside the over-elaboration of the breastplate, in itself a superb piece of goldsmith's work, the bust is one of the freest and most modern sculptures of the epoch.



In the possession of Mr. Berenson, Settignano, is a fine terra cotta group representing the Combat with Antæus, which seems to be a copy from some original by Antonio's own hand. It has been gilded, which gives it at first sight a somewhat meretricious appearance at variance with the severity of the work itself. The modelling of the nude bodies, especially that of Antæus, is admirable, the muscles are well indicated, but the figures lack the concentrated energy of his own work, and seem to be copied by some follower able to reproduce his forms but not his spirit. The usual types have been reversed, the Antæus being of the lean sinewy build of the Hercules in the foregoing works, while the hero himself is more stoutly and heavily built. It is, however, a type we shall see frequently in his nudes, indicative of great physical strength and somewhat recalling Michelangelo.\*

It is impossible to notice every painting and sculpture, representing the Labours of Hercules, which are attributed to Antonio, and which show for the most part undoubted traces of his influence, but the most important of these imitations are the following. In the Berlin Museum is a small lead statuette of a nude athlete, probably a Hercules, so close to his style that it is possible it may be a copy of some lost original. It is roughly modelled and seems a mere sketch. In spite of the disproportion between the large head and

\* In the Collection of the Comtesse de Béarn, Paris, is a bronze group closely resembling it, for which it has been suggested it may have been the study. It is unknown to me even by photograph.

hands and the rather puny body, and the lack of balance which may be due to injury suffered by the metal, the figure is energetic, and the lean face with its corrugated brows and compressed lips has concentration and force. It is the best of all the many statuettes attributed to Antonio.

It is impossible to accept as more than mere *atelier* work the small bronze figure of Hercules in the collection of Mr. Pierpont Morgan, at present in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. He stands with one foot on the head of an ox, nude except for the lion's skin thrown over the shoulder. The pedestal is Pollaiuolesque in design, with rams' heads and acanthus leaves decorating the corners.

In the Museo Nazionale, Naples, is another bronze statuette of a nude figure, with long hair and pointed beard, wearing a kind of turban, which according to the authorities represents David, but which has enough analogies to be included in this group. It is attributed in the Museum and by several critics to Antonio, but appears to belong to a generation later, more influenced by the works of Michelangelo, though bearing indications of his influence.

The attribution to Antonio of the vulgar statuette of Hercules in the collection of Mr. Alfred Beit, London, is unjustified either by the style or the quality of the work. The swaggering attitude, the exaggerated muscular development, particularly of the swollen thighs, recalls rather the work of Bandinelli or some more mediocre follower of Michelangelo.

Lastly, among the representations of Hercules erroneously attributed to Antonio, may be mentioned the frescoes of the Palazzo Venezia, Rome, representing eight of the Labours, and other decorative figures and designs. It is astonishing that such poor work could have been seriously attributed to him.\* The scenes are tamely conceived, the figures are badly constructed, and have neither energy nor any other quality that could warrant the attribution. They are considered by Mr. Berenson to be probably the work of Girolamo da Treviso the Elder.

\* The attribution is that of Dr. Ulmann. See "Die Thaten des Herkules. Wandgemälde im Palazzo di Venezia zu Rom." München, 1894.

## CHAPTER VI

### PAINTINGS WITH PIERO 1465-1470

OF the same year in which Antonio painted the three Labours of Hercules for the Medici Palace we have notice of some goldsmith's work, which however is no longer in existence. In 1460 he made, while in partnership with Maso Finiguerra and Pietro Sali, a Tabernacle of Silver at the commission of the monks of S. Pancrazio, to contain the arm of the patron saint, which had been presented to the monastery by Pius II.,\* and about the same time he was executing with Finiguerra some jewels, ordered by Filippo di Cino Rinuccini, for which he received payment in 1461. These jewels were a girdle wrought of silver in open work, decorated with *niello* and two chains of gilded silver, which Filippo presented to his wife Ginevra Martelli. (See Doc. XI., p. 260.)

His next dated work is the decoration of the Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal, S. Miniato, and consists of frescoes of Angels executed entirely by his own hand, and the Altarpiece representing SS. James, Eustace and Vincent, now in the Uffizi,† (Plate XIII.) the greater

\* Vasari, III. p. 298, Note 1.

† No. 1301.

part of which he left to Piero. This is the first existing painting in which the hand of Piero is visible. As the Chapel was dedicated in 1466 the completion of the Altarpiece may be placed about that time, thus when Piero was twenty-three. Considering the mediocrity of his talent, it is improbable that before this age he should have been entrusted with more than subordinate work. The parts executed by him are feebler in drawing and show less experience than any other of his paintings, and the Altarpiece may be taken as the starting-point in the study of his development, and as representing the earliest joint work of the two brothers.

Vasari's account of the paintings in the Chapel is full of errors.

"They executed for the Cardinal of Portugal an oil painting in S. Miniato al Monte, outside Florence, which was placed on the Altar of his Chapel; and thereon they depicted S. James the Apostle, S. Eustace, and S. Vincent, which have been much commended, and Piero in particular painted on the walls some Prophets in oil, (which he had learnt from Andrea dal Castagno) in the spaces of the angles below the architrave, where are the lunettes of the arches; and in a *mezzo tondo*, an Annunciation with three figures." \*

The *Annunciation* contains but two figures—the Virgin and Archangel—and is by the hand of Alesso Baldovinetti, as also are the Prophets below the vaulting. The only part executed by Piero is a share in the Altarpiece, designed, and in part painted, by

\* Vasari, III. p. 291.



*Alinari*

SS. JAMES, VINCENT AND EUSTACE. BY ANTONIO AND PIERO  
POLLAIUOLO, UFFIZI, FLORENCE

*Face p. 88*



Antonio. By the hand of Antonio are the two frescoed Angels over the Altar, which are unnoticed by Vasari, and but little known to the general public, thanks to their ill-lighted position on the wall.\*

The Chapel dates from 1461† and was erected two years after the death of the young Cardinal,‡ who passing through Florence from Rome on a papal mission to Germany, was taken ill and died there in 1459, at the age of twenty-six. The most renowned artists of the day were employed in the work, and even in its present ruined state, the Chapel remains one of the most perfect and representative monuments of the older masters of the fifteenth century. It was designed by Antonio Rossellino, by whom also is the Tomb itself with the recumbent statue, which covers one entire wall. Opposite is a marble throne of beautiful proportions, inlaid with porphyry and green serpentine, and above is the *Annunciation*, attributed by Vasari to Piero, in reality by Baldovinetti. The roof is of glazed terra-cotta, with medallions by Luca and Andrea della Robbia, and the frescoes below—a frieze formed by the *stemmi* of the Cardinal, and lunettes

\* Attention was, I believe, first drawn to these frescoes by Dr. Ulmann, who however attributed them to Piero. It was Mr. Berenson who first gave them to Antonio.

† “La sepoltura del Cardinale di Portugallo fu data a fare ad Antonio Rossellino l’anno 1461 per il prezzo di 425 fiorini d’oro.” Note of Gaetano Milanese, Vasari, III. p. 95.

‡ Jacopo, of the royal house of Portugal, Archbishop of Lisbon created Cardinal with the title of S. Eustachio by Calisto III.



containing half figures of Prophets and Church Fathers—is also by Baldovinetti.

The Altarpiece of Antonio and Piero has been replaced by a worthless painting of a later date, but its original frame remains, and above this are the Angels frescoed by Antonio.\* The reason that the frame was allowed to remain when the Altarpiece was removed, is probably that Antonio has so utilised it that it forms an integral part of the fresco, the Angels being painted as standing upon it, and withdrawing curtains on either side to expose the picture. They are painted with a realism so deceptive that it amounts to a *tour de force*, for, while the feet push energetically against the frame, the heads, shoulders, and knees seem to project far beyond it into the Chapel, as though in free relief. In treatment and form they closely resemble the Angels on the Silver Cross of S. Giovanni, robust and vehement, with the same large scythe-like wings. They wear short tunics which leave their muscular arms and legs bare, and except for their jewelled diadems and wings, resemble nothing less than the traditional angel. The hands grip the curtains strenuously, the feet press downward against the frame with characteristic energy. The legs are bent, as is usual with Antonio when desiring to express sinewy strength, and the bones of

\* Unfortunately I am unable to give a reproduction of these frescoes, which owing to their position and the exceedingly bad light are difficult to photograph. Excellent photographs have however been published by Dr. Schmarsow, "Kunsthistorische Gesellschaft für Photographische Publikationen. Achter Jahrgang," Leipzig, 1902.

these and of the arms are strongly accentuated. The nude parts are superbly drawn, the hands and feet being of special beauty. Unfortunately this Masterpiece of Antonio's painted work is much damaged, the colour in places having completely peeled off. The draperies and curtains have especially suffered and are almost obliterated. This is due chiefly to the method of fresco employed, which is the same as that of Alesso Baldovinetti, a mixture of tempera and oil painted on the dry plaster, strictly speaking not fresco at all. To the use of this method is due the loss of Baldovinetti's work, and Antonio's adoption of it offers further evidence in favour of his having learnt painting in his *bottega*.

The Altarpiece, now in the Uffizi, represents the three patron saints of the dead Cardinal—James, Eustace, and Vincent. The characteristic composition is certainly due to Antonio. Here, as in the Hercules panels, the figures occupy the foreground, seeming far larger than they actually are by reason of their prominent position against the stretch of landscape, with no middle distance. The actual painting seems about equally divided—the whole of S. James and a great part of S. Vincent being by Antonio, the rest by Piero. The contrast between the powerful S. James and the weak, almost childish S. Eustace is most striking. In the former we have the characteristic strongly-built frame, the square face with prominent bones, broad low forehead and deep-set eyes, (closely resembling the head of Goliath in the *David* of Berlin) and the bony

powerful hands of Antonio. The figure, well planted on the ground, stands like a Hercules between the others. There is much of Antonio's own work also in S. Vincent, and the feeble touch of Piero has not entirely spoilt the fine drawing of the face, although the absence of modelling and weak expression betray his hand in the execution. In this figure the brushwork of Antonio seems confined to the velvet robes which hang in the long straight folds peculiar to him at this epoch, and which, thick and richly decorated as they are, do not conceal the good proportions and easy pose of the form beneath. The fine painting of the robes of S. Vincent and S. James, with their deep rich colour glowing like gems, and the realistic imitation of the texture of the velvet, of its weight and softness, must certainly be the work of Antonio. Admirably painted are the jewelled embroideries, the gold-brocade, and the fur hat surrounded by a diadem, which lies at their feet.

The drawing as well as the painting of S. Eustace must have been left entirely to Piero. It has all the defects of his style, the badly constructed form, the puffy unmodelled flesh, the want of balance, the puppet-like action. It stands like a *burattino* suspended by the head, the legs seeming to dangle limply from the body. The structure beneath the clothes is badly indicated, the thighs and arms are ill-connected with the trunk. The face is boneless, and its unbroken oval adds to the foolish expression of the weakly drawn eyes and mouth. The figure has a superficial resemblance

in type and costume to the *David* of Berlin, and it is possible that Piero in designing it had it in his mind. The position of the hand stuck in the belt, the little finger widely separated from the rest, the short velvet tunic, the white fur, the vest embroidered with gold, all superficially recall the *David*, but the contrast is sharp between this feeble puppet and the energetic youth of Antonio. It is the weakest of Piero's paintings, and represents him at the lowest point of his artistic development. We shall see a gradual improvement and a nearer approach to the characteristic forms of Antonio, but here the imitation of his style is merely superficial.

The landscape, which represents, like those of the Hercules pictures, the Arno valley, has the characteristic spaciousness of Antonio, but the painting of the pavement with its crudely contrasted colour, hard lines and bad perspective must be the work of Piero. The absence of shadow, which should be cast by the figures, gives them a hard unreal look, and detracts from the solidity and balance even of the S. James.

In colour the work has the rich dark tones, the deep peacock-blues, moss greens and crimsons, the glowing rubies and amethysts of Antonio's palette, and even in the parts executed by Piero the depth and richness is maintained. It is in form and modelling, rather than in his imitation of Antonio's colour, that the weakness of Piero betrays itself.

Very close to this Altarpiece in style, and probably of about the same date, is the large painting represent-

ing *The Journey of Tobias*, No. 117 of the Turin Gallery (Plate XIV.). The picture is mentioned by Vasari as having been painted by the two brothers to decorate a pilaster in Or S. Michele.\* According to a note of Carlo Milanese it was transported thence to the Assembly Hall of the Capitani of the Church, and at the suppression of that tribunal, the hall being devoted to other purposes, it was removed and lost sight of, until it was found in the house of the Tolomei, who brought it from Maiano. The Tolomei had it for some time in their house in Via de' Ginori, Florence, but took it later to their Palace in Siena. From thence it passed to the Collection of Baron Garriod and in 1865 to the Turin Gallery. The only objection raised against the identification of the picture with that mentioned by Vasari, is that he states it to have been painted on canvas, whereas the Turin painting is on panel,† but the objection is of little weight and there seems no doubt but that it is the work which once decorated the pilaster in Or S. Michele. Like the Three Saints of S. Miniato, the work shows the design of Antonio and the execution of both brothers, though Antonio's share in the actual brushwork is less. As usual the figures are placed upon a prominence, which by concealing the middle distance, adds to the impression of

\* "Dipinsero ancora in S. Michele in Orto, in un pilastro in tela a olio un Angelo Raffaello con Tobia." Vasari, III. p. 291.

† A close examination of the surface reveals however in certain lights rectangular lines as of the fine texture of linen beneath the paint, as though the canvas had been stretched upon a wooden background for protection.



*Alinari*

THE JOURNEY OF TOBIAS. BY ANTONIO AND PIERO  
POLLAIUOLO. GALLERIA REALE, TURIN

*Face p. 54*



their size. The seizure of the transitory action is very characteristic. So illusive is the impression of the swift movement of the two figures, as to partake of the nature of a *tour de force*. They seem to walk so rapidly across the panel that one is conscious of the unobstructed landscape when they shall have passed beyond. Were the actual execution equal to the grand conception, we should have in the Archangel one of the noblest figures of *quattrocento* art. The strongly built athletic frame, clad in the amethyst velvet robes, with large wings that seem to cut the air, has great distinction and beauty. The square-shaped head is of the same construction as that of S. James, but the poor modelling and vacuous expression betray the hand of Piero in the execution. The robes have the straight angular folds of Antonio but suggest little solidity in the form beneath. The best painted parts of the figure, in which alone the brush of Antonio is visible, are the wings, and to the crisp energy of these, their feathery quality and cleaving power, is due in great part the *élan* of the movement, which if we cover them, seems comparatively tame. The Tobias, on the other hand cannot have been more than suggested by him, so ill-constructed is the figure, so full of faults of anatomy and of drawing. It is a fit companion to the S. Eustace of the S. Miniato Altarpiece, and only in a better realisation of bone does it show any advance upon it. The face is weak, with the characteristic insignificant features of Piero, and is, as usual at this early period of his development, ill-modelled. The folds of the tunic



are arranged with the utmost stupidity. The drawing of the right leg, and especially of the foot, is so faulty that it is a mystery how Antonio could have allowed it to pass. That the figure has buoyancy and movement in spite of these faults proves the power of Antonio in depicting action, for it is certain that in such sketch as he may have given for it, little but the movement could have been indicated.

But if nearly the whole of the painting of the figures is Piero's, the beautiful spacious landscape must be the work of Antonio. It is the usual Arno valley through which the stream winds like a snake till it is lost in the pale blue of the sky. The city with its cupola and towers is visible between the arms of the figures. The colour is pitched in a higher key than either of the foregoing paintings, and the tints of pale blues and greens in landscape and sky are exquisite.

The Journey of Tobias was a favourite subject with the Florentine merchant and was often dedicated as a votive picture on the departure of his son for foreign countries. Thus the connection with the Merchants' Church of Or S. Michele is obvious. Like the Labours of Hercules, Antonio has made the theme his own, either through this or some lost painting, for most of the pictures of the subject show traces of his influence. Among the best of these is the fine panel—*Tobias with the three Archangels*—No. 24 of the Accademia, Florence, officially attributed to Botticelli and by later criticism to Francesco Botticini, which, though the figures bear equal traces of Verrocchio's influence, shows



*Graph Gesellschaft, Berlin*

THE ANNUNCIATION. BY PIERO POLLAIUOLO (ASSISTED IN SMALL PART  
BY ANTONIO) KAISER FRIEDRICH MUSEUM, BERLIN



in the composition and landscape the strongest reminiscence of the Turin painting. Another work showing the influence of both Masters is the panel No. 781 of the National Gallery. The left hands of the Archangel and Tobias might have been copied from those in the Turin painting, and have the structure peculiar to Piero—broad in the palm with the thumb inclined to curve backward.

A very unequal work almost entirely by the hand of Piero is the *Annunciation*, No. 73 of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin\* (Plate XV.). Judging by the superiority of the painting it must be placed at a later date than either of the foregoing, probably nearer to 1470, the year of the Mercatanzia Virtues, which it closely resembles. In the Catalogue it is attributed to Piero alone, yet it is probable that Antonio furnished part of the design, and that he aided his brother in the beautiful and characteristic landscape. The painting was most likely executed at the commission of Lorenzo de' Medici for the Chapel of Careggi, for the view of Florence is that seen from the Villa, and so much emphasis is laid on the decoration of the hall, as to suggest that it represents one of the rooms. It seems as though the composition has been patched together from separate studies, for the background has two points of view. The gallery behind the Archangel has its own vanishing-point, and is in admirable perspective, the depth of space being rendered with Antonio's usual

\* It was bought from the Solly Collection, where it was attributed to Antonio.

science, but we may seek in vain for the vanishing-point of the room behind the Virgin, the perspective of which is in defiance of all laws. The placing of the figures well in the foreground is characteristic of Antonio's composition, and the unconventional and easy attitude of the Archangel points to his design, but the awkward pose and bad proportions of the Virgin, and the childish drawing of her chair, prove that with this figure he had nothing to do. In type, structure, and brushwork, the Virgin is very characteristic of Piero at the date of the *Mercatanzia Virtues*, with her long swollen body and legs, her narrow shoulders, her puffy ill-modelled face and her broad lifeless hands, so different to the bony energetic hands of Antonio. The draperies are also characteristic, with their badly arranged folds, which seem inflated with air, ending in sharp hard lines on the floor. It is a peculiarity of Piero's female figures that they seem at once meagre and swollen, and of his flesh-painting that it is at the same time solid yet unreal. The execution of the Archangel must also be by Piero. Fine in attitude, even noble in gesture, it is robbed of its dignity by the heavy *bourgeois* face, badly drawn and modelled.

The background with its over-elaborated decoration is made still more ponderous by the hot heavy colour, a crude imitation of Antonio's, but lacking his fusion and harmony. The figures, placed against these coarsely-coloured marbles, lose the importance their fine grouping and position against the depth of space might otherwise have lent them. The beautiful landscape seen

through the windows has the delicacy of a miniature, and the view of Florence and its buildings is even more detailed than in the *Hercules* and *Tobias* paintings.

These four pictures are the only joint work by the two brothers that can be placed within this decade. The rest, judging by the development of Piero, must belong to a date subsequent to the *Mercatanzia Virtues*.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE DESIGNS FOR THE EMBROIDERIES OF S. GIOVANNI. 1466.

IN tracing the development of Piero and his share in Antonio's paintings, the chronological order has been slightly neglected, and we must now retrace our steps from the Berlin *Annunciation* to the work which followed directly upon the S. Miniato Altarpiece—the designs for embroideries, executed between 1466 and 1480.

Of these Embroideries Vasari writes at length.

“From Antonio's designs were made for S. Giovanni in Florence, two tunics, a chasuble and cope, woven of one piece without join, and for the border and decoration of these were embroidered scenes from the life of S. Giovanni, with most delicate mastery and art, by Paolo da Verona, divine in that craft, and excelling every other master; \* in these the figures were executed no less excellently with

\* Paolo di Bartolommeo di Manfredi da Verona came to work in Florence shortly after 1465, and carried on his craft of embroiderer with Antonio di Giovanni di Piero and Gallieno di Michele in his *bottega* in the parish of S. Frediano. Besides those for S. Giovanni he executed other important embroideries for the Badia in 1480. (See Note of Milanese. Vasari, iii. p. 299.)

the needle than if they had been painted by Antonio with a brush; for which we are indebted in no small measure to the skill of the one in designing and the patience of the other in embroidering. Twenty-six years were employed in the work and this good fashion of embroidery—done with close stitches, which besides being more durable appear really to be painted with a brush—is almost lost, the custom in our day being to use larger stitches, which are less durable and less beautiful to see.” \*

The embroideries, now detached from the vestments which time had decayed, are to be seen framed and glazed in the Museo dell' Opera del Duomo. Vasari's praise of the needlework is not exaggerated, for with so much skill have the designs been followed, that they do actually seem as though painted with the brush. The designs vary considerably in quality, some having evidently been left to the hand of assistants, and it is noticeable that the best and most characteristic of the compositions are also the most skilfully and delicately stitched. In these the character of Antonio's work, the energy of his line, the values of distance, the very expression of the faces, have been preserved so successfully that his style can be studied as accurately as in his paintings. The thirteen designs by his own hand form a group as important as the Hercules pictures and the bronze reliefs on the Tomb of Sixtus, in judging the qualities of his art.

They are stitched in silks of bright colours upon

\* Vasari, iii. p. 299.



finely woven canvas, with gold threads worked in horizontally in such quantity, that in certain lights the embroideries gleam like plates of pure gold. The colours seem little faded. Like the designs the quality of work varies, some being much less finely stitched than others. Some also are in a state of almost perfect preservation, while from others the silks are worn away and allow the design beneath to be seen.

How much value the Florentines set on the beauty of their Churches at this epoch of their prosperity, is proved by the time and money spent on these unique embroideries. No less than eleven Master-Craftsmen from different countries were occupied for fourteen years in the work, the total cost of which was 3179 florins, 7646 lire, 10 soldi, 8 denari. The commission was given by the Arte della Mercatanzia, whose *stemma*—the eagle on the woolsack—occurs constantly in the designs. A series of entries in the Account Books of the Guild tell the dates of execution and the names of the embroiderers. (Doc. XII. p. 261.)

They were begun in 1466, the first entry recording the deliberation being dated Aug. 5 of that year. It is probable that Antonio received the commission for his designs even earlier, since, as this entry records the choice of the embroiderers, some of the designs must have been already prepared. Four Master-workers are mentioned, one of whom was a Venetian, one from Antwerp, one from Navarre. In a later deliberation of Dec. 1. two others were chosen, a Florentine and a master from Perpignan. The name of Paolo da Verona,



*Altinari*

EMBROIDERY, S. JOHN BAPTIZING. DESIGNED BY ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO  
MUSEO DELL' OPERA DEL DUOMO, FLORENCE

*Face p. 102*



the celebrated embroiderer mentioned by Vasari, does not appear in the documents till 1470.\*

Antonio's name is not mentioned until 1469 in which year he received payment of ninety florins for his designs. In 1480 he received another ninety, and by July of the same year the embroideries must have been completed, for the vestments they were to adorn were ordered. These were of pure white, and of so rich a material that it cost twenty florins the *braccia*.

Cavalcaselle considers the execution of the designs, as well as the colouring, to have been by Piero, from sketches furnished by Antonio, and it is possible that to Piero are due the inferior compositions, although his name is nowhere mentioned in the documents. Some of them show a feebleness in drawing for which certainly Antonio is not responsible, and which contrasts sharply with those evidently by his own hand, which are as energetic and as technically perfect as any of his best work. Out of the twenty-seven scenes thirteen are entirely executed by him, while the remaining fourteen show the intervention of assistants. The embroideries are divided in the Museum into four groups, determined

\* The names of the embroiderers are of interest as showing the care with which they were chosen from other countries and provinces of Italy. They are eleven in number. Coppino di Giovanni da Melina di Fiandra, Piero di Piero da Venezia, Paolo d'Anversa, Janiscuro di Navarra, Antonio di Giovanni da Firenze, Gianpaolo da Perpignano, Giovanni di Jacopo, Giovanni di Morale, Giovanni di Pelaio di Prignano, Paolo di Bartolommeo da Verona, and Nicolò di Jacopo di Francia.

by their different dimensions, and in this order and not of subject, they will be described.

The first group, the largest in size (51 centimètres by 30) is the best and most important, all the designs being by Antonio's own hand, and nowhere has he given better proof of his skill and science in the seizing of transitory movement, the rendering of depth of space, in faultless composition and perspective, than in these tiny scenes designed merely as a decorative border.

The first scene (Plate XVI.) represents S. John baptising the multitude, an admirably composed group, whose only defect is the ill-balanced conventional figure of the Baptist himself. This defect in the principal figure is all the more curious that the rest are treated with a realism almost crude in its truth to nature. It is a repetition of the Baptist in the relief of the Silver Cross, equally conventional in action, and not faultless in anatomy. It would be of interest to know why, in nearly all these scenes, otherwise treated with so much originality and realism, the Baptist only should be presented in the stiff and conventional *trecento* manner.

It is wonderful how little the design has suffered from the mechanical process of stitching, for the spontaneity of gesture, the modelling of the nude, the values of distance and spaciousness of the landscape, are so well reproduced as to seem actually from the brush of Antonio. The most subtle expressions are given to the faces, so that the individuality of the different persons and their attitude towards the cere-



*Atumari*

EMBROIDERY. S. JOHN PREACHING TO HEROD. DESIGN BY ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO  
MUSEO DELL' OPERA DEL DUOMO, FLORENCE

*Fine p. 101*



mony, can be appreciated. Some remain thoughtful and unconvinced, and seem to weigh the value of the new doctrine; some are openly antagonistic and argue with conviction: others are fervidly devotional. Each figure in the scene is worth special attention as a realistic study of character, and for its fine pose and expressive action, caught at the most significant point. Nothing could be more natural than the gesture of the two personages, one standing, one kneeling, who are being stripped by their pages; nothing could be better than the anatomy and action of the three figures—academic studies of the nude though they be—who kneel to receive baptism. The contrast between these and the Baptist is most striking.

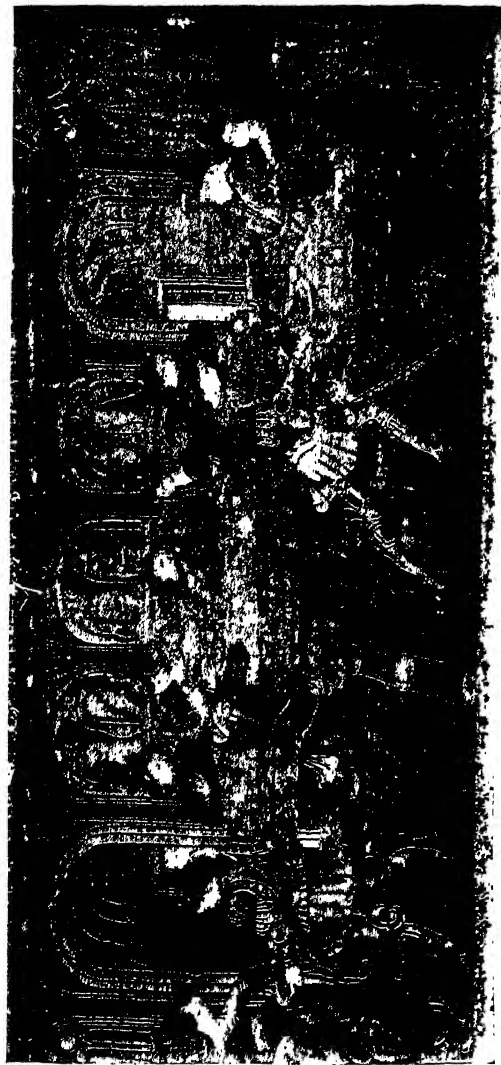
The landscape, with the stretch of Arno valley through which the river winds, is also treated with the utmost realism, and the values of distance are wonderfully reproduced. It is the same landscape we have got to know so well, with the city of Florence enclosed in its almond-shaped walls, the Duomo, the Campanile, the Palazzo Vecchio, and all the principal buildings plainly visible. It resembles most the background in the Altarpiece of S. Sebastian in the National Gallery.

In the next scene (Plate XVII.) the Baptist stands preaching before Herod and the High Priest. It is treated in a manner equally realistic, and here the Baptist also is well proportioned and good in action. He is engaged in energetic argument with Herod, who is seated with Herodias, sullenly silent, on one side, and Salome, ostentatiously indifferent, on the other.



Opposite are the High Priest and other dignitaries, vehemently antagonistic, and all round nobles and burgesses listen and dispute with animated gesture. Here again, so natural and expressive are the faces, so significant is the gesture, that the attitude of each person in the argument is clear. No character-study by Hogarth presents a scene more dramatically. As illustrations these designs of Antonio are perfect. The fine half-figures of soldiers on either side of the foreground should be noticed, superb energetic figures that add solemnity to the somewhat *banal* scene. The perspective of the hall is, as in all these interiors of Antonio, admirable, and has been wonderfully preserved by the embroiderers.

The third of the group represents the Feast of Herod (Plate XVIII.), and in composition resembles the above. Two episodes are comprised in the scene. To the left stands Salome, gazing with a deprecatory gesture at the Baptist's head, which a young soldier holds before her. To the right the same soldier bears it swiftly to the banquet table, where Herod and Herodias are seated. At the back are the guests to whom a page runs hastily forward. Antonio has never rendered rapidity of movement more successfully than in these two central figures, which fill the otherwise tranquil scene with life and motion. Balancing Salome on the other side, half out of the composition, stands the executioner, a superb athlete, splendid in pose and gesture, whose calmness gives stability to a scene which might otherwise be too vehement in action.



*Alinari*

EMBROIDERY. THE BANQUET OF HEROD. DESIGN BY ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO  
MUSEO DELL' OPERA DEL DUOMO, FLORENCE



These three embroideries are in a state of almost perfect preservation, a few places in the background of the last only having suffered. As character-studies, as well as for fine rendering of movement, faultless perspective and composition, the designs rank among the most important of Antonio's works.

The second group is of different form and measurements being thirty-five centimetres high by twenty-four broad. It comprises six scenes, several of which are inferior to the rest, and show the hand of assistants. All are less finely worked. The first represents the Circumcision of the Baptist, and has the characteristic composition and fine perspective of Antonio, but the stitching is coarse. The architecture of the Temple is decorated with a medallion bearing the *stemma* of the Arte della Mercatanzia, supported by two vehement angels, which resemble those over the Altar of S. Miniato.

The second—the Institution of Baptism—shows the hand of assistants in some parts, but the nude youth kneeling to receive the sacrament, and the Pharisees who stand round arguing emphatically, must certainly be designed by Antonio himself.

The composition and perspective of the third—the Baptist rebuking Herod for his marriage with Herodias—are good, and point to the design of Antonio, but the figures are weakly posed and tame in action, and cannot have been more than roughly indicated by him, unless indeed one must lay the defects at the door of the embroiderer. The stitching is much less fine than in

the scenes of the first group, and a somewhat Northern angularity of gesture, verging on the grotesque, in this and several other of the embroideries, suggests that they were worked by one of the Flemish craftsmen, who visualised rather after the manner of his own school than of the Florentine. So faithfully are the scenes of the first group rendered, that the character of Antonio's work is reproduced exactly, but it is possible that the inferiority and strange Northern style of some of the figures in the rest, may be due to the intervening personality of a craftsman less conscientious and less skilful.

This suggestion of Northern art is even more perceptible in the next—the Baptist preaching to the Multitude—which, as regards the greater part of the figures, might have been designed by a Fleming. Especially Flemish is the man seated in the centre, with crossed knees and folded arms, and another to the extreme right. The composition is good, but the values of distance between the figures has been lost, giving the scene an overcrowded appearance. The landscape with its sharp rocks and conventional shrubs, is treated in the traditional *trecento* style such as we see in the early reliefs of the Silver Altar, and can hardly have been designed by Antonio.

The fifth—the Baptist interrogated by the Messengers of the High Priest—is comparatively coarsely stitched, and very much worn. In action and construction the figures are poor, and the design seems to have been left chiefly to assistants. It has the same suggestion of Flemish influence as the above.

Lastly we have an exceedingly fine composition—the Reception of Herod by the Baptist. The Tetrarch has dismounted from his horse, which is held by a page in the background, and stands talking to S. John. Around are five mounted knights, and behind stretches the Arno valley. The stitching is much coarser than in the first series and the faces have little expression, but the grouping is so fine, the horses and their riders are so well drawn, and the landscape is so characteristic that it must certainly have been designed by Antonio himself.

The third series measures 21 centimètres high by 36 broad. It comprises also six scenes, three of which are much inferior to the rest, while all show the hand of assistants.

No. 1. The Meeting of Christ with the Baptist is poor. The figure of the saint is badly drawn, and there is much disproportion in the sizes of the surrounding persons. This is a defect noticeable in several of the inferior designs, and can hardly be due to the embroiderer.

No. 2. Christ baptising the Baptist is better than the above, but seems to be chiefly the work of assistants, while the stitching also is somewhat coarse. The reversion of the Biblical narrative, in which it is the Baptist who baptizes Christ, is a curious error.

No. 3. The Descent of Christ into Limbo. This scene is very unequal, the figures on the right being evidently designed by Antonio, while those on the left

show the hand of assistants. The group of four female saints to the right are exceedingly fine, the two who stand behind being superbly posed. The S. Mary of Egypt who kneels in the foreground has a special interest, for she resembles closely the same Saint in the recently discovered Altarpiece of Staggia of which we shall speak presently. (Plate XXXIII. p. 161.) The figures on the other side, including Christ and Baptist, are among the weakest of the series, their relative proportions are bad, and the attitudes and gestures poor. They cannot be by Antonio's own hand.

No. 4. The Dance of Salome is entirely by Antonio and is one of the most successful of this series, although the stitching is much less delicate than in the first group. That the embroiderer has not reproduced the original design so faithfully, is evident from the vacant expression of the faces and the rather tame action. The attitudes and gestures are however easy and natural, and no hand but Antonio's could have designed the figure of Salome, seizing so cleverly the transitory movement of the dance, presenting so realistically the supple twisting of the body. It seems however even here as though something of the rhythm of the original action has been lost in the process of embroidering. which cannot be by the same skillful craftsman who executed the first group.

No. 5—the Baptist pointing out Christ to the Multitude—is of slight interest and seems to be chiefly the work of assistants.

## DESIGNS FOR EMBROIDERIES III

No. 6. The Announcement to Zaccharias of the birth of a son must have been entirely designed by Antonio. The composition is noble, the complicated perspective is good, and the figures which stand on either side, like heraldic supporters, are grandly posed. It is seldom Antonio foregoes his interest in movement and gives us figures so statuesque and motionless.

The last group consists of twelve scenes measuring 30 centimètres high by 22 broad. Like the foregoing they vary in quality, but for the most part seem to have been designed by Antonio himself.

No. 1. The Expulsion of Zaccharias from the Temple. There is much vigorous action in the figure of Zaccharias, who is precipitated from the door of the Temple as though by some irresistible force. In the foreground four heraldic figures raise their hands in astonishment. One of these—the youth in short tunic and hose—is finely proportioned. The stitching is coarse but the design must be by Antonio's own hand. This scene has been copied in ink by some follower of Antonio (Uffizi, Cornice 40, No. 98) and is erroneously ascribed to the Master himself and accepted as the original design for the embroidery, whereas it is in all probability copied from the embroidery itself.\*

No. 2. The Visitation is a fine composition, but in detail unworthy of Antonio's hand. The central figures are well posed and their draperies broadly treated, but

\* The same may be said of the pen-drawing representing the Baptist preaching to the Multitude in the Collection of Herr von Beckerath, Berlin.



the faces are trivial and the action of the clasped hands is especially weak. The figure of Joseph is out of all proportion to that of the handmaid on the same plane, and the childish landscape and seraphim in the sky can hardly have been designed by him.

The scene that follows—The Birth of the Baptist (Plate XIX.)—is one of the best of the whole series, and ranks next in merit to those of the first group. It is noteworthy that the best designed and stitched of the embroideries are also the best preserved, as though they had decorated a vestment that was but little worn. Not only for beauty of composition and admirable perspective is this design of value, but as a *genre* picture, illustrating Florentine domestic life of the fifteenth century. In a richly decorated room, whose walls are hung with blue brocade embroidered with gold, S. Elizabeth lies in a low bed, which a maid behind bends over holding a tray of refreshments. The panels of the coffered ceiling, the brocade of the walls, and the draperies of the bed, are executed with extraordinary realism, and it is marvellous that the embroiderer has been able so successfully to reproduce the depth of interior space across the room and down the corridor beyond, keeping the values of space between the figures. At the foot of the bed is seated a charming youthful figure asleep. In the foreground is the child on its nurse's knee, which other women prepare to clothe, one warming the little shirt at a portable stove, the other bending over it admiringly. No more charm-



*Alinari*

EMBROIDERY. BIRTH OF BAPTIST. DESIGN BY ANTONIO  
POLLAIUOLO. MUSEO DELL' OPERA DEL DUOMO, FLORENCE

*Fine p. 112*



ing and realistic scene of a Florentine interior exists in contemporary art.

No. 4—Zaccharias naming the Child—is not so delicately stitched. The composition has Antonio's pyramidal grouping and the architectural perspective is good. The scene is treated in the same intimate manner as the above, and the figures of the nurse holding the Child and of Zaccharias, who writes in a cramped position, with the scroll upon his knee, and the inkpot in his hand, are as crudely realistic studies as one could find in a painting by Teniers. The woman who stands behind, wrapped in toga-like draperies, is, on the other hand, noble and statuesque.

After this follow three scenes which seem to be almost entirely the work of assistants. First, the Baptist preaching in the desert, surrounded by seven figures, all tame and feeble. Second, the Arrest of the Baptist, which is poor in action, with the exception of the soldier striding forward with drawn sword, whose energy contrasts sharply with the slackness of S. John and the rest. In the third—the Baptist conducted to prison—no sign of Antonio's hand is perceptible. The Saint is ill drawn and walks with a mincing gait, and the other figures are equally feeble. In all these the landscape is treated in the conventional *trecento* style.

In the scene representing the Baptist receiving the disciples in prison, there is something that recalls Signorelli in the foreground figures with their grand pose and sweeping draperies. The design must certainly

be Antonio's, but the stitching has not the delicacy of the first group, and in passing through the craftsman's hand the original drawing has obviously suffered. It is besides one of the most damaged of the series.

The next—the Decollation of the Baptist (Plate XX.)—is composed in Antonio's most characteristic style. In spite of the injuries to the embroidery, the figures have preserved the energy and force of the Hercules paintings, especially the executioner, whose spare sinewy frame and concentrated ferocity closely resemble them. The soldiers too are finely posed, but the Baptist is more commonplace and conventional. The perspective of the prison courtyard and the loggia is admirable.

No. 10 of this group—Salome presenting the head of the Baptist to Herodias, (Plate XXI.)—is again very characteristic of his love of swift movement. Salome whirls into the room with the impetus of the wind. It is an original and strange conception of the scene—Herodias seated like some barbaric Idol in its niche, and the childish figure of her daughter, who shows the head with a child's delight in a new toy. The *quattrocento* conception of Salome was certainly not that of our own day.

With this ends the work of Antonio himself. The remaining scenes—The Bearing of the body to the Sepulchre and the Entombment—seem to have been left entirely to assistants, and have little merit either in the treatment of the figures or of the landscapes, which are purely conventional.

In spite of the seriousness of the subject and of the

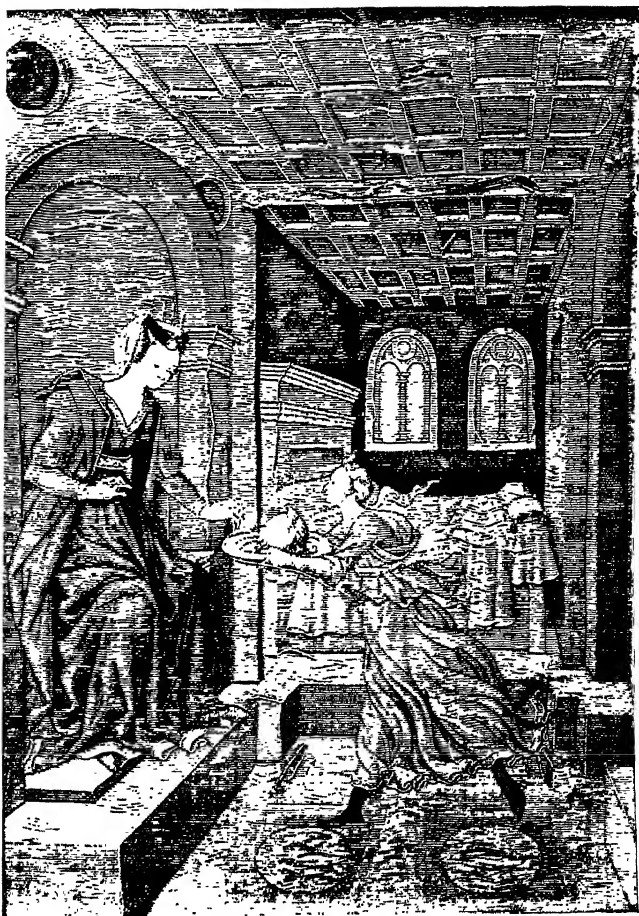


*Alinari*

EMBROIDERY. DECOLLATION OF BAPTIST. DESIGN BY ANTONIO  
POLLAIUOLO. MUSEO DELL' OPERA DEL DUOMO, FLORENCE

*Face p. 114*





*Minari*

EMBROIDERY. SALOME PRESENTING THE HEAD OF THE BAPTIST  
TO HERODIAS. DESIGN BY ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO. MUSEO  
DELL' OPERA DEL DUOMO, FLORENCE

*Foto p. 114*





science with which composition, perspective, construction and action of the figures, are handled, there is in the whole series a touch of *naïveté*, almost of humour. Antonio seems to have conceived the scenes in a vein of gaiety, almost as though he were illustrating a fairy-story for children. In this they recall Carpaccio's Story of S. Ursula, but while this levity is in harmony with the temperament of the Venetian, it is a curious departure from the usual severity of Pollaiuolo.

## CHAPTER VIII

### PAINTINGS AND STUDIES FROM THE NUDE

1464-1470

No documentary record exists of other work executed by Antonio during the years in which he was occupied on the designs for the embroideries, yet it is unlikely that these took up much of his time or were even the principal work on which he was employed. These were the years of his full maturity, and it may be presumed that a great part of them was devoted to his special interests and studies of the nude in action. A superb example of this may by inference be placed about this time—the frescoes discovered in 1897 in the Villa della Gallina in the grounds of the Torre del Gallo, Arcetri, near Florence.\* The frescoes decorate one wall of a room on the ground floor of the Villa, and represent a Bacchic Dance of nude figures, two-thirds the size of life. At the date of their discovery they were supposed to be by Botticelli, and it was Mme. Mary Logan who first attributed them to Antonio.†

\* Formerly in the possession of Count Galletti, now of Signor Bardini.

† Mme. Mary Logan, "Découverte d'une Fresque de Pollaiuolo," "Chronique des Arts, 1897," p. 343.





*Anderson*

FRESCO OF TORRE DEL GALLO

*Face p. 117*

The Villa belonged to the Lamberteschi, but in 1464 it was bought by the brothers Jacopo and Giovanni Lanfredini, the latter of whom was the intimate friend of Lorenzo de' Medici and filled the post of Florentine Orator at the Papal Court. It is probable that they commissioned Antonio to decorate the hall at the time of their purchase of the Villa, and in any case we may take these figures as the centre of a group of nudes in action, which must certainly date from his most mature and self-expressive years.

The frescoes are in a state of the utmost ruin. In their present condition the visitor to the Villa sees, not the work of Antonio, but of the restorer, who, shortly after they were discovered, repainted the whole of the figures, coarsening the delicate outline, which was nearly all that remained, and adding a coloured background in order to give them prominence. The author had the good fortune to study them at the time of their discovery, when the wash with which they were covered had been just removed. At first sight nothing but a few lines and patches of faint colour were visible, but gradually the beautiful forms took shape, and detached themselves from the stains and broken surface of the wall. The outlines were slightly incised in the plaster, and were of the utmost beauty and delicacy. Here and there were faint traces of colour—a touch of yellow in the hair, of pink in the flesh, of green in the garlands, and ochre in the architectural designs. The frescoes represent a dance of five nude figures, male and female, linked together by garlands, which they hold high above their heads.

Their movements, alternately rapid and rhythmic, are exquisitely harmonious and graceful, the transitory attitudes being seized with Antonio's peculiar skill. To form a continuous frieze of interwoven action was his evident intention, and from the decorative point of view the result is worthy of the sculptor of the Parthenon reliefs. In detail the figures are some of the most perfectly proportioned and beautiful nudes of modern art. Whoever may have commissioned the frescoes it is evident that here at least Antonio was allowed free play for his special interests in the body and its movements.\*

The first figure is of a youth (Plate XXII.) whose hair is bound with fluttering ribbons, a motive constantly employed by Antonio, possibly to add rapidity to the movement. He seems to have just leapt lightly into the dance, and to have seized the garland, which he holds above his head, while he balances his body with the hand below. This action is very characteristic, and occurs several times in other nudes presumably of the same date. Next, bending her body towards him with the supple twisting of an Eastern dancer, is part of a beautiful female figure. The face is exquisite, with its delicate features, laughing mouth and thick cloud of hair. Nothing but the head and the upper part of the body remain, but as with a fragment of Greek sculpture, we are aware of the entire figure and its action, which must have been the same as that of the youth, but seen in front

\* The following notes were made from the frescoes before the repainting and the past tense should perhaps therefore have been employed.

instead of in profile. She wears a kind of crown in which are traces of red and green, probably remains of flowers. A door is cut through this and the following figure, and in the spandril of the vaulted roof above, are the remains of what was probably a *stemma*, surrounded with fruits and foliage retaining vague traces of colour. A scroll below these fruits runs round the wall above the figures, on which elaborate letters of curious character are perceptible, too much damaged however to be legible.

On the other side of the door is another youth, seen full front, who dances somewhat with the gesture of the Faun of the Tribuna. The right arm is lost, but seems to have balanced the body with the same action as the foregoing, while the left holds up the connecting garland. The head, with its thick curling hair and laughing mouth, is full of careless gaiety. It is slightly foreshortened and is bent gracefully towards the shoulder. On the flesh are slight traces of colour.

The next is again a female, this time in repose. The head is completely destroyed, but other parts—the advanced foot especially—are well preserved, and of the utmost beauty. The figure bears a strong resemblance to the Flora in the Primavera of Botticelli, the legs and feet being in almost exactly the same position.

The last figure is the best preserved, the whole form being perfectly visible, and it retains traces of yellow in the hair and of pink in the flesh. It is a youth, seen nearly full front, poised on one leg, his body swung round lightly and rhythmically. The beautiful shape



of body and limbs and the modelling can be appreciated. The group seems to have ended with this figure, whose gesture completes the composition, thrown backwards towards the rest as the first is thrown forwards, the two seeming to enclose those between.

The beauty of the composition considered as decoration is as great as is the science shown in the gestures and actions of the individual figures and in the seizure of the momentary attitude. The nude is differently constructed to the Hercules or gladiator type, more gracefully built, yet exceedingly muscular and with the bone well emphasised. With the *abandon* of Donatello's *putti* the figures combine the rhythmic dignity of an antique frieze.

Beneath are remains of architectural designs, deep arches and windows, and winged *putti*, in all of which faint traces of colour are visible. Above the fireplace on the other side are fragments of foliage, fruits, and flowers. It is uncertain whether the dancing figures were continued round the other walls, but no trace of them has been discovered.

Signor Guasti\* is of opinion that the frescoes were washed over at an early date, since, he considers, paintings of such beauty and importance would certainly have been mentioned by Vasari, Albertini, or some of the early writers, had they been known to them. He suggests that they were covered over at the time of Savonarola's onslaught on so-called licentious works of

\* Gaetano Guasti, "Gli affreschi del secolo xv scoperti in una villa ad Arcetri," "Rassegna Nazionale," February 1, 1900.



*Alinari*

BATTLE OF TEN NUDES, ENGRAVING BY ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO



art, as one of the Lanfredini was a Piagnone. It seems however likely that, had they really been washed over at so early a date, they would have been better preserved.

Very different in subject, yet closely connected to these frescoes by its decorative character and harmonious combination of movement, is the engraving called *The Battle of Ten Nudes* of which the best example exists in the Collection of Prince Lichtenstein at Feldsberg\* (Plate XXIII.). As the plate has already been considered from the technical point of view (p. 34) the following notes refer only to its artistic qualities. It is signed on a *cartello* attached to a tree OPVS. ANTONII. POLLAILOLO. FLORENTINI., and is the only existing engraving that can be attributed to his hand. In the shading of the background, by which the figures are thrown into relief, it recalls the technique of the *niello*-worker and this peculiarity has great decorative value. The engraving, taken as a specimen of Antonio's power in representing the nude in violent action, as well as for its decorative beauty, is one of the most important of his works.

The group is composed of ten nude soldiers, engaged in fierce combat with sabre and battleaxe, against a background of vines and Indian corn. The theme is employed merely to display the body in a variety of movements, more or less violent, but with his innate sense for beauty, Antonio has interwoven the bodies,

\* There are several impressions in various collections. The best known—that in the Uffizi, from which the reproduction is made—is not a good impression, the plate having been much worn.

limbs, and weapons into a pattern of such subtle harmony, that in spite of the brutality of each individual figure, the impression we receive from the whole is graceful and rhythmic. Considered as decoration the composition is superb, and has close connection with the frescoes of Arcetri. For masterly treatment of the nude it is unrivalled even among his own works. The anatomy is faultless ; the short thickset figures differ in construction from the more meagre type of the Hercules, but embody no less the climax of physical strength. The action is full of energy, and has been seized at its most significant point, so skilfully that we are as aware of the previous and succeeding movements of the limbs as of those actually presented. The weight of the bodies, the muscular efforts and pressures, the grip of the feet on the ground, the free swing of torso and arms, and the concentrated ferocity of the faces, are given with the utmost truth and realism.

In detail the design separates itself into four groups, each of which is a masterpiece of composition. The most violent action is centred in the two nudes who seem to be struggling for a chain in the middle. We feel the swell and tension in each nerve of our own bodies, and so concentrated are the energy and fury that it is impossible to look at these figures without emotion, without the muscles stiffening and the teeth clenching in involuntary imitation. The result of the combat is inevitable. The strength of the soldier to the left is failing, and in another instant his opponent's sword will be plunged in his heart. This certainty as to the

result of each struggle is the highest tribute to Antonio's power in depicting movement.

To the right the group is composed in characteristic pyramidal form, and in spite of its vehement action has the monumental stability of the *Hercules and Antæus*. One combatant has received his death-stroke and lies in agony, his limbs not yet relaxed. His face is of interest for it resembles exactly that of the Baptist in Antonio's pen drawing in the Uffizi (Cornice 31, No. 357), and appears to be drawn from the same model. His assailant digs his dagger furiously into his breast, while above another swings a battleaxe, concentrating his entire forces in the blow, which will descend with smashing weight on the head of the foe.

Balancing these on the other side, two figures writhe struggling on the ground. Again the result of the combat is inevitable, and the victory will not be for him now uppermost, who has lost his balance in the surprise of the arrested blow, but for him lying beneath, who, with one foot pressed hard against his thigh will drive his dagger through his brain. Another instant and he will fall forward dead on the body of his conqueror.

Behind is another group of three. One rushes swiftly forward, arresting with his hand the battleaxe swung by his foe, while behind the third with furious grimace draws his bow to the arrow head. This last figure is in almost exactly the same position as the Hercules in the *Combat with the Hydra*.

Precisely at what date to place the engraving would

be difficult to say. It bears much resemblance to the Hercules paintings and to the Arcetri frescoes, and must certainly be the production of his most mature years. It is in some respects the most personal of the works of his Florentine period.

Another work of the same kind, treated in the same decorative fashion, is the pen and sepia drawing in the British Museum representing a Prisoner brought before a Judge (Plate XXIV.). The figures are arranged, like the foregoing, in the manner of a decorative frieze, all combined in one continuous movement, and it is possible that the design may have been intended for some such wall decoration as the Arcetri frescoes, with which in style it is closely connected. It is composed of eight nude figures on the same plane, outlined in pen and slightly washed with sepia, and the background is coloured dark, so that they stand out in decorative relief something in the manner of *niello*.

To the left is seated the Judge, whose fat figure contrasts sharply with the sinewy athletes before him. Two accusers stand by, one pointing with a bâton to the prisoner, who is led before the throne by a gaoler, his hands bound behind him with cords. Behind, another nude swings a sabre as though in act to defend the prisoner, while behind him again are two others, one of whom, a negro-like figure, whose hair is bound by fluttering ribbons, grasps his arm as though to restrain him. What the scene illustrates is unknown to me, but a somewhat similar group is carved on the Triumph Arch in the *Martyrdom of S. Sebastian*.



*Macheth*

PRISONER BROUGHT BEFORE JUDGE. DRAWING BY ANTONIO FOLLAIUOLO  
BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON





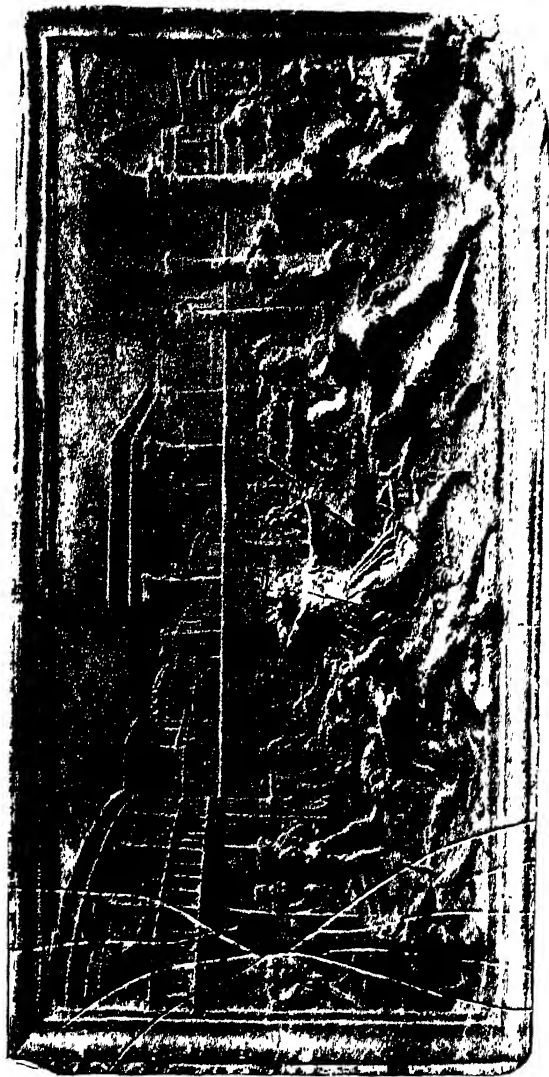
The scheme of composition is the same as in the foregoing, the most vehement movement concentrated in the centre, framed in and balanced by the more tranquil figures at either end. The movement is continuous and rhythmic, and caught up from one figure to the other as in the Arcetri frieze. The drawing falls into its place between the fresco and the engraving like the connecting link of a chain, for while the gaoler and his assailant resemble in face, form, and gesture the fighting nudes, the two figures to the extreme right are almost exactly like those of the Arcetri frieze, especially the negro, with his half dancing attitude and the palm of his hand turned down with precisely the same gesture.

Another scene of the same kind may find a place here, although it must have been executed at a much later date, probably after Antonio's departure for Rome. This is the gesso relief called *Discord* in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, there attributed to Leonardo, but which has all the character of Antonio's work\* (Plate XXV.). It is to be regretted that its position in the Museum, difficult to find, and when found, impossible to study to advantage, should prevent its being better known and appreciated, for it

\* I must plead guilty to having, in my book on Verrocchio, attributed the relief to that artist, while recognising however the strong influence of Antonio, and especially of the *Battle of the Nudes*, shown in the conception of the theme and the construction of the nude. A closer study of Antonio's work has forced me to revoke this too hasty judgment, and to recognise in the relief one of the most characteristic works of Antonio himself.

is one of the most important works of the fifteenth century, for the admirable composition and management of the relief, and for the beauty and fine action of the figures.

Like all the foregoing scenes the subject represented has never been satisfactorily explained, and seems chosen chiefly with the object of displaying the nude in violent action. In the official catalogue it is called *The Genius of Discord*, but the title is hardly definite enough, for it will be remarked that in each combat it is a male who slays or dominates a female. In the centre foreground rushes with furious gesture a gaunt hag—(Discord?)—who seems to be inciting the males to the onslaught. On either side of her struggle a man and a woman, the one to the left has already slain his victim, and kneels over her corpse vehemently gesticulating, the one to the right has clutched the hair of his prey in act to strike off her head, as she grasps the flying draperies of the hag. On either side is seated tranquilly, half outside the frame, a classic looking figure like a river god, which from the statuesque treatment points to the influence of Roman sculpture. A youth to the right stands also indifferently watching the carnage. Within a loggia beyond him is seated a judge apparently ordering the ejection of a hideous female, who unwillingly descends the steps, casting venomous looks behind her. Opposite is an oval building of classic architecture, with balcony and open portico, in which stand nude youths in superb attitudes, recalling antique statues. One in the background



"THE GENIUS OF DISCORD," VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM, SOUTH KENSINGTON



seems to be refusing admittance to a young woman, at whose feet are stretched two corpses, while on the other side is a group fiercely struggling—males against females—one of whom is in the act of striking off the head of a fat and repulsive hag. A wall in the middle distance divides the scene from the background, which represents, in Donatellesque low relief, a street of classic buildings vaguely recalling Rome, in which other figures are seen swiftly walking, standing, and seated. The perspective of this street and the depth of space presented, are most admirable, for the last building seems a quarter of a mile away, and the values of distance between each are well rendered. It is to be noticed that while nearly all the males are young athletes, superbly built, the females are for the most part hideous and old, and of a construction which recalls the nude women of Dürer and the German schools. It seems certain that in the subject, allegorical or historic, lies some misogynistic meaning.

Technically the relief is one of the finest of Antonio's works, a masterpiece of splendid modelling of the nude, of free action, and fine management of perspective. The male figures seem imitated from Greek statues, one—the youth who stands within the second arch of the portico—seeming as though copied from the Doryphorus. From this treatment of the nude and the classic architecture it may safely be placed after his visit to Rome, among the latest of his works. In freedom of action and gesture also, the figures show a marked advance over the nudes of the engraving. If

less concentrated in force, they reveal a facility of technical manipulation, which suggests the *baroque* art of the following century.

It is just possible that it may have been one of those gesso reliefs of which Vasari writes as follows: "Antonio executed in low relief in metal a Battle of Nudes, very beautiful, which was sent to Spain; of which there is a cast in gesso in the possession of all the artificers in Florence." \* That it was intended to be executed in metal the style of the relief shows, and the number and variety of action of the figures would make it an invaluable model in an *atelier* for the study of the nude.

Of nude studies by Antonio we have several fine examples. On a sheet in the Uffizi (Cornice 34, No. 276) are seven drawings of male figures, four in ink and three in chalk on a larger scale, the latter so rubbed as to be almost obliterated, and not visible at all in the photograph. They are however the most important on the sheet, and are magnificently constructed and posed. To the right stands a man, firmly planted, with legs widely separated in the grand attitude Signorelli adopted and made his own. His arms are outstretched and his hair is bound with fluttering ribbons. To the left is another with bald head, seen in profile, and between them a third, almost effaced. In ink are four of a smaller size, disconnected studies of a male nude, one of an archer without head or arms, two sketches of the same model from different points of view, and a

\* Vasari, iii. p. 296.

study of a torso. A sheet full of interest as an example of Antonio's *atelier* studies from the nude model, dashed in with characteristic energy.

In the collection of M. Bonnat, Paris, is a pen drawing washed with sepia, of a young man standing in a defiant attitude, his arms folded on his chest. The expression of the face is concentrated, and the figure, most realistically treated, vibrates with energy. It is another *atelier* study from the life. The pen touch has not the flashing Leonardesque quality of Antonio's best drawings, but it is sharp and decisive enough to warrant the attribution to his own hand.

In connection with the classic nudes of the "*Discord*" may be noticed four fine studies of a Herma in the Uffizi Collection (Cornice 34, No. 267). As in the nudes of the stucco relief, there is something that anticipates the athletes of Michelangelo in the muscular torso, which is repeated four times in different positions. Here also the influence of the Roman antique is evident, and the drawing may be placed at as late a date as the relief. On the back of the sheet are two male nudes standing, and a draped seated figure.

Another study in the same collection (Cornice 42, No. 246) is very characteristic of his interest in violent action. A male figure seen from the back strides forward as though in amazement, his hands outstretched towards another, who, seated, gazes at him with horror. Whatever the scene may have been intended to illustrate, it is in the highest degree dramatic. To the left, but



apparently a detached study, a nude child marches rhythmically, blowing a trumpet.

Lastly in this group of nude studies by Antonio's own hand, we have the curious pen drawings of Adam and Eve in the Uffizi Collection\* (Plates XXVI. and XXVII.), (Cornice 31, Nos. 95 and 97 F.), curious, because, while the technical qualities of drawing and modelling, and certain mannerisms of construction, do not permit the rejection of them as his authentic work, there is, in the type of face, in the heavily built forms, in the stiff angularity of pose, and in the treatment of the detail, a certain Northern crabbedness which suggests Dürer and the German schools which influenced him. Mr. Berenson finds analogy between the Adam and the work of the disciples of Domenico Veneziano, and draws attention to its resemblance to the man leaning on a staff in a similar pose, in Piero dei Franceschi's fresco of the Death of Adam in Arezzo, and while accepting the drawings unhesitatingly as the work of Antonio, remarks on their Northern character, "which suggests Sluter and the sculptors of Burgundy." This trace of German influence is not unique in the work of Antonio, for, as has already been remarked, the females in the "*Discord*," fat and heavily built, suggest the Northern type.

The form of Adam is of heavier build than any we have yet met with in his work. The huge torso and limbs suggest immense strength, but it is an ox-like strength, lacking the elastic energy of his usual type.

\* The drawings were attributed to Signorelli until Morelli first gave them to Antonio ("Italian Painters," I. p. 93.)



*Alinari*

ADAM. DRAWING BY ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO. UFFIZI  
FLORENCE

*Facc p. 130*





*Alinari*

EVE. DRAWING BY ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO. UFFIZI, FLORENCE

*Face p. 130*



The lightness and elasticity of his figures is generally their principal quality, and the Adam is, on the contrary, loosely jointed and ponderous, in this recalling strongly the figures of Dürer. In construction the Eve also, though less heavily built, reminds one of his female nude. In the careful finish of the detail, each tendril-like hair of the body being minutely drawn, there is also a reminiscence of the German schools.

This being the case, and Antonio's widespread influence being accepted, it may be asked why the drawings should not be rather ascribed to some German impressed by his style. Yet in spite of the difference to his other work, they bear too strongly the stamp of the Florentine school, for this to be seriously suggested. To what epoch of his career they belong however I find it impossible to decide. That they are no mere studies is proved by the extreme care with which they are finished. They are evidently executed as cartoons for some paintings as minutely worked as the Hercules panels.

It would be wearisome to mention all, even the more important, of the many school drawings from the nude wrongly attributed to Antonio. His influence was widely spread throughout Italy, and many must have actually studied in his *atelier* and drawn from the same models, which gives a superficial resemblance to his style. Nearly every drawing from the nude of the epoch bears some trace of his influence and many of them are attributed to him without regard for the quality of the work. One or two of such imitations

however are too important and too close to his manner to be omitted.

The best is perhaps the so-called "*Death of Gattamelata*" in the Hertford House Collection. It is in pen washed with sepia, and represents eleven nude figures weeping violently round a tomb. Mr. Berenson considers it to be a copy of a lost original by Antonio himself, dating from his earlier years.\*

The sheet of nudes in the Louvre cannot be accepted as more than school work, in spite of the contemporary inscription, which proves that even in his own century it was considered to be a genuine study by his own hand.†

Among the numerous *atelier* studies of the nude in the Uffizi, attributed to Antonio, the most important are the following. A sheet in pen and wash representing two males, one of whom strides forward with folded arms, the other falling backward as though wounded. (Cornice 42, No. 110.) The scene has all the dramatic qualities of his work, but the action is poor, and all that can be said of it is that it may be a copy from his own composition. These remarks apply also to another drawing by the same hand, where four nude soldiers fight with sword and shield. (Cornice 32, No. 260.)

The pen drawing of three nude figures attacking a centaur (Cornice 34, No. 279) may also be a copy from

\* It was formerly attributed to Mantegna. There is another copy much damaged in the Munich Print Room. See Berenson, "Florentine Drawings," Vol. I. p. 30.

† The inscription is "Antonii Jacopi excellentissimi ac eximii florentini pictoris sculptorisq̄ prestantissimi hc opus ē . . . cumq̄ hominum imaginem fecit vide q̄ mirum i membra redegit."

his design, but is certainly not by his own hand. The line is tame and mechanical and the drawing poor. It bears his name in contemporary writing, but a comparison with his genuine signature proves this to be spurious.

In studying these works from the nude, the chronological order has been somewhat abandoned, but with the exception of the "*Discord*," the drawings of the Herma and the Adam and Eve, most of them fall into place around the frescoes of Arcetri and the engraving of the Ten Nudes, and may, roughly speaking, be dated from the years between 1464 and 1470. One record exists of goldsmith's work executed in these same years, a suit of armour and trappings made by Antonio for Benedetto Salutati to be worn at the Joust of Lorenzo, which took place February 7, 1469.

The notice appears in the "Discorsi" of Borghini, and although the work no longer exists, it has a certain interest in giving some idea of the diversity of his undertakings.

"Benedetto Salutati (nephew of that Messer Coluccio, famed in his time for his studies of the *belles lettres*) who, although held in repute, and universally much esteemed, was not however of our first and purest nobility, nor of such excessive wealth that he was forced by his reputation despite himself to enter into such great expense as were the Medici, Pazzi, Pitti, and such others with whom he might have to compete—yet was he of so noble a soul and so great heart, that in the caparison, headpiece and other accoutrements of two horses, he employed 170 *libbre*



of fine silver, of which the crest of the harness was solid. Nor was he content with such great richness, but ordered it to be delicately wrought with heads, figures, and scenes in bas-relief and enamels, by the hand of him who was unique in the art of chasing metals, and is still praised so highly—Antonio del Pollaiuolo—reputed equal to one of those Mentovi, Agragati and Boeti who had such fame among the ancients; wherefore it might be said that the art and beauty of the work surpassed the material. He employed moreover in the embroidering of the said accoutrements, of his own surtout, and of the jerkins and tunics of his men-at-arms, about thirty *libbre* of pearls, for the most part of the greatest price, of the value of from five to fourteen soldi the ounce; of which two garments alone, not reckoning the other expenses of cloth, brocades, and jewels, cost about five thousand florins, that is, about 52 *libbre* of the purest gold.”\*

Although none of these pieces of pageant-armour have survived, one work, executed possibly to be carried in some tournament, is in existence—the shield formerly in the collection of Mr. Capel Cure, Badger Hall, Shropshire, dispersed in 1905, now in that of Signor Brauer, Florence (Plate XXVIII.). It is certainly by the hand of Antonio himself and a work of much importance. The shield is of wood painted black, and upon it is modelled in high relief a nude figure about two feet high, gilded. It represents Milo of Cortona in his death agony, his hands caught in the cleft of the tree, which in his old age he attempted to uproot, and

\* Borghini, “Discorsi,” Firenze, 1585, II. pp. 162–164.



SHIELD WITH MILO OF CROTONA  
BY ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO. COL-  
LECTION OF SIGNOR BRAUER  
FLORENCE  
(By kind permission of Signor Brauer)



unable to withdraw them was devoured by wild beasts. On either side of the head the name of the hero is inscribed in gold letters—MILO CRO—and round the border runs the following inscription AB INVALIDO SAPIENTIS EST POST VICTORIÃ QVIESCERE NIHIL N TAM FIRMV CVI NÕ SIT PERICVLV. On the right is painted a *stemma* which Signor Brauer supposes to be that of the Miauti family of Arezzo. The figure is of the same stout build as the nudes of the engraving, and is splendidly modelled on broad planes with sculpturesque largeness and freedom. The shield is in good condition and has a special value as one of the few surviving specimens of such decorative work by a great master.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE VIRTUES OF THE MERCATANZIA, 1470

THE next documentarily dated work after the designs for the Embroideries is the series of Virtues painted for the Università della Mercatanzia, in which, however, the share of Antonio is confined to a chalk drawing for the figure of the Charity, and perhaps some slight touches on the detail of the Prudence. In the gallery the six panels are attributed to both brothers, with the exception of the Prudence, which is ascribed to Antonio alone, probably on account of its marked superiority to the rest. All the paintings are, however, in the mature style of Piero, and the discovery of certain documents has confirmed the evidence of the work itself.

The panels were ordered to decorate the large Council Hall in the Palace of the Mercatanzia in the Piazza Signoria, a building which still preserves its ancient *façade* decorated with the *stemmi* of the *quartieri* and *sesti* of Florence. They were commissioned to Piero alone independently of his brother.

Vasari makes only a slight mention of the paintings and speaks of them as the joint work of Piero and

Antonio. "They executed, in the Mercatanzia of Florence, some Virtues in that same place where the Court of the Tribunal holds its sittings." \* By Antonio Billi,† the Anonimo Gaddiano‡ and Albertini§ they are attributed to Piero alone. The series of documents, discovered in 1903 among the archives of the Università, are of interest, not only as regards the Pollaiuoli, but for the share taken in the work by Botticelli, for we learn that the Fortitude was painted by him, not, as had hitherto been supposed, in his capacity as pupil and assistant of Antonio, but as the result of competition and in direct rivalry to Piero. The history of the commission is briefly as follows.¶

On August 18, 1469, it was decided by the Council of Six of the Università to commission Piero to paint figures of Virtues to decorate the Hall of their Palace.\*\*

\* Vasari, III. p. 292.

† "Piero del Pollaiuolo fecie . . . delle Virtù sie (sic) si vede in una spalliera in sala della Mercantia" (Antonio Billi, p. 27.)

‡ "Fece" (Piero) "le 6 Virtù che sono nella spalliera della sala della merchatantia che la 7a cioè la fortezza è di mano di Sandro Botticello" (Anon. Gaddiano, p. 56).

§ "Non fo mentione delle sei figure delle Virtù sono dell' Arte della Mercatantia per mano di Pietro Pull. La septima è di Sandro" (Albertini, Memoriale, Cl. xvii. 17).

¶ The documents are published by Jacques Mesnil in his article, "Les Figures des Vertus de la Mercanzia," "Miscellanea d'Arte 1903," I. p. 43. They will be found transcribed in the Appendix. Doc. XIV. p. 267.

\*\* The name is erroneously recorded by the notary as "Piero del Verrocchio," a lapsus calami, explained by the fact that Verrocchio had received the commission to send in a drawing for one of the figures.

The first of the panels executed by him was the Charity, which probably occupied the central position. This is mentioned as being already completed by December of the same year.

The importance of the work seems to have roused the jealousy of the Florentine painters, and several applied for a share in the commission. This competition necessitated a fresh deliberation of the Council, which took place December 18, 1469. The Six Commissioners, having listened to what Piero had to say (probably with regard to payment), and having discussed the question among themselves, put it to the vote with black and white beans, and decided to renew the commission to Piero, who thereupon received the order to complete the remaining six figures for the price of twenty broad florins each. The document recording this deliberation mentions a design for one of them already executed by Verrocchio, which was rejected in favour of Piero's. From an entry made three days later (December 21, 1469) we learn that Verrocchio's rejected design was for the Faith, and that he received for it eight small lire. Of this drawing more will be said later.

The name of Antonio is mentioned twice in the documents, but in no way as the superior of Piero, who received the commission as an independent Master. In one it occurs as standing guarantee for a certain sum of money, in the other as being present and offering his opinion in the second deliberation of the Council.

Later, at the intervention of Tomaso Soderini, Botticelli succeeded in obtaining the commission to

execute one of the figures—the Fortitude—for which on August 18, 1470, he received payment. Soderini, the friend and patron of Botticelli,\* was one of the most influential personages of the Republic, and chief of the Medici party, and it was probably in deference to his position that the commission was taken from Piero.

Finally a document records that on August 2, 1470, Piero received payment for the Temperance and Faith, which are stated as being second and third of the paintings executed by him.

The following facts are thus obtained. That the Charity, Faith, and Temperance were painted by Piero Pollaiuolo. That the Charity was executed the first of the series, and was already completed by December 18, 1469: the Faith and Temperance not until December 21 of the following year: and that Botticelli's Fortitude was finished by August 18, 1470. Of the remaining three figures—the Prudence, Hope, and Justice—no mention is made in the documents, and, perhaps owing to carelessness in the entries, no further payments are recorded. To decide whether these were painted by

\* The Anonimo Gaddiano relates the following anecdote which testifies to the interest taken by Solderini in his protégé. "Being once pressed by Messer Tomaso Solderini to take a wife, Botticelli answered him, 'I wish to tell you something that happened to me not many nights ago. I dreamt that I had taken a wife, and suffered so much because of her that I awaked, and in order not to fall asleep again and redream the same dream, I arose, and walked about Florence the whole night like a madman.' From which Messer Tomaso understood that this was no ground in which to plant vines" (p. 70).



Piero or by his assistants the work itself must be examined.

The figures are seated on marble thrones of elaborate architecture, raised on a dais placed on an oriental rug. There are variations in the details of ornament and costume, but the general composition is alike in all, including the arrangement of the draperies. It is difficult to decide with certainty what were their respective places on the walls, but as far as may be judged by the relative sizes and inclination of the figures, it would seem that the central position was occupied by the Charity, in her double character of Chief Virtue and Madonna. Botticelli's Fortitude probably formed the pendant to the Prudence, the Faith to the Temperance, while the Hope and Justice, strangely enough on a larger scale than the rest, must certainly have matched each other. It is curious that while the others are in a state of the utmost dilapidation, the Fortitude and Prudence are comparatively well preserved. So damaged were the remaining five panels that at the time of their removal to the Uffizi, they were considered unfit for exhibition, the colour having for the most part completely peeled off.\* The greater part of what we see is thus the work of the restorer, and the pictures must be judged therefore by composition and form, for only in small parts has the original colour escaped.

The best painted, as well as the best preserved, of

\* Cavalcaselle, "*Storia della Pittura in Italia*," Firenze, 1894, VI. p. 106.



*Alinari*

PRUDENCE. BY PIERO POLLAIUOLO. UFFIZI  
FLORENCE

*Face p. 140*



Piero's six figures, is the Prudence (Plate XXIX.), which is officially attributed to Antonio. By Antonio however it certainly is not, although the admirable painting of certain details suggests that he may have lent some slight assistance. At the date when the Virtues were painted Piero was twenty-seven, and his work had naturally improved since the S. Miniato Altar-piece and the Turin *Tobias*, but as yet, although the form beneath the clothes is solid and well indicated, especially in the arms and breast, he is not able to suggest the structure of bone and muscle in the nude parts. The face is modelled with complete disregard for the skull beneath, and the neck is as flat as a piece of paper. Though the figure has a certain dignity of pose and bearing, his characteristic defects of proportion are as glaring as ever. The legs, especially from the knee downwards, are huge in relation to the body, and were she to stand up, the effect would be to the utmost degree grotesque. The insignificant features and vapid expression, the puffy folds of the draperies, which seem inflated with air—characteristic faults of Piero—are in direct contrast to the keen concentrated faces and bronze-like draperies of Antonio. It is surprising that with the superb figures of the Hercules panels close by, this mediocre painting should be ascribed to him.

The best part of the work is in certain details of goldsmith's work and in the harmonious colour. In colour Piero showed himself not unworthy of his brother's tuition, though he never succeeded in obtaining his depth of tone and gem-like glow. The embroidered gown, of

a subtle tint difficult to name, is exceedingly beautiful, but especially so are the mirror with its crystal handle and reflected profile, delicately painted as a miniature, and the snake with its fine curves. So admirable are these accessories as to warrant the suggestion that they are the work of Antonio himself. Antonio, it is evident, had none of the creator's pride in his paintings, or he could not have allowed his designs to be spoiled by the unskilful brush of Piero. He seems in all their joint work to have reserved to himself only such parts as interested him, and it is quite possible that he may have chosen to paint these exquisite bits of goldsmith's work—perhaps wrought in his own bottega—the mirror with its beautiful setting, and the bronze-like snake. However it may be, it is certain that the painting of these details shows a marked superiority to the rest.

The next best of the figures is the Charity (Plate XXX.) as far as its ruined and repainted state will permit of judgment. It is in better condition than the remaining five panels, for the mantle and robe still retain much of the original colour, but the face has suffered from cleaning and the entire body of the Child is thickly repainted. The lower part—the dais and oriental rug—is, as in all the remaining panels, entirely modern. The figure has to an exaggerated degree the same defects as the Prudence, the same disproportionate length of limb, the same lack of bone and muscle in the face and neck. The features are equally insignificant, the legs are awkwardly posed and badly foreshortened, and yet, despite these faults, it has a certain dignity. The colour



*Alinari*

*1925*

CHARITY BY PIERO POLLAIUOLO. UFFIZI  
FLORENCE

*Fac. p. 142*



has a suggestion of the glow of Antonio's own painting in the deep red of the velvet robe and the green of the gold-brocaded mantle. It is evident that in this figure Antonio had a share, not in actual execution, but in council and supervision, and to how large an extent he was interested in the work the cartoon drawn by his own hand on the back of the panel bears witness. Here we have the entire figure rapidly sketched in broad decisive touches. The drawing is wonderfully well preserved, having been protected by its position from the damage suffered by the painting. It seems to have been drawn rather as a correction to the original than as a cartoon to be copied, for the figure is of the characteristic build of Piero, but with its defects modified. There are variations in the composition also which must have been suggested as corrections, and it would seem as though Antonio, noticing the faults of construction in Piero's figure, had turned the panel and rapidly dashed in the drawing, as a master's practical lesson to his pupil. The exaggerated length of body and limb is modified, the modelling of the form beneath the draperies is emphasised, while another arm is added to the child in a different position, as though to suggest an improvement. The position of the drawing, on the back of the painting, precludes the possibility that it served Piero as the cartoon, and it seems more likely that Antonio, while retaining the general forms of his brother's work, sketched the figure thus as a lesson and correction.

With these two figures ends any share Antonio may have had in the Virtues of the Mercatanzia. The



remaining four paintings have the unredeemed mediocrity of Piero's unaided work.

Of the Temperance and Faith it is difficult to say much in the condition to which they are reduced. The Faith (Plate XXXI.) in especial has suffered, and is the worst damaged of the whole series, and the restoration has been so coarsely and unintelligently done, that the original character of the work has almost disappeared. The face is repainted as a child might daub a print, the features being outlined all round with a hard line, that gives them a paltriness of which even Piero was incapable. No suggestion of modelling has been attempted. The mantle over the left shoulder and the knees is entirely modern, as also is the brocade of the gown. The carpet and dais have been smeared carelessly over, and in the whole painting nothing but the moss-green brocade of the right arm, and the Crucifix, remain of the original work. We can therefore criticise only the forms of the figure, which have the same defects as the rest—the same exaggerated length of leg, bad foreshortening and awkward pose.

The cartoon for the head, in black chalk tinted with pink and pricked for transfer, is in the Uffizi collection, (Cornice 43, No. 14506) and it is evident that the face of the panel has been repainted by the restorer with the aid of this drawing. The cartoon has the usual defects of Piero's work. The insignificant features are timidly drawn on the flat unmodelled face. Its redeeming quality is a certain sincerity of feeling



*Alinari*

FAITH. BY PIERO POLLAIUOLO. UFFIZI, FLORENCE

*Face p. 144*



which the restorer of the painting has failed to reproduce.

It will be remembered that in the second deliberation of the Council as to the commission, mention is made of a design for this figure of Faith executed by Verrocchio, which was rejected in favour of that of Piero. This rejected design by Verrocchio may perhaps be identified with the black chalk drawing, washed with sepia and heightened with white, in the Uffizi. (Cornice 52, No. 208), (Plate XXXII.) It represents the figure of Faith seated on a raised dais precisely as in Piero's paintings. It is officially attributed to Botticelli, in spite of its obviously Verrocchiesque character.\* That it was designed to form one of this series of Virtues there can be no question, for it is alike in general composition and detail. The figure is in precisely the same attitude as the Faith of Piero. The light strikes on the same side, the position of the knees and arms is nearly the same. The mantle is arranged in the same manner over the left shoulder, hanging in heavy folds between the knees. Cup and Cross are of the same pattern. (The Cross is sketched in the drawing in two positions, one upright as in the painting, one slanting towards the right, but they are so slightly indicated that the photograph does not reproduce them.) Lastly, the throne rests on a raised dais of

\* The identification of the drawing with the rejected design by Verrocchio is due to Dr. Gronau, who kindly allowed me to publish his discovery in my article "Un disegno del Verrocchio per la Fede nella Mercatanzia di Firenze," "Rassegna d'Arte," VI. No. I.

peculiar shape, with rectangular sides and curved front, a form followed in four out of the seven paintings.

At first sight, in studying the photograph only, the heavy expression of the face makes the attribution of the drawing to the energetic Verrocchio difficult to accept, but in the original it will be seen that this is due to coarse pen-strokes outlining the features, an addition by some later hand. The lines of the eyelids and eyebrows thus drawn over, give an owl-like expression to the face, which in other respects has everything in common with Verrocchio's type, the same *bombé* forehead and square jaw, the same wide-winged nose, round nostrils, and curved mouth, that we find in the female head in the Malcolm Collection of the British Museum, in the drawing of the head of an Angel in the Uffizi, and in the reclining Venus of the same collection. The figure is constructed also in Verrocchio's manner, with broad, flat chest, fine proportions, and with his peculiar feeling for bone. The draperies are arranged in folds which closely resemble those of the Christ in the group of Or S. Michele, on which it will be remembered he was at work at the same date as the competition for the Virtues.

So much for the superficial resemblances of form and feature, which might have been imitated by his followers. The fine quality of the drawing can be appreciated only in the original. The firm touch, the rounded modelling obtained by the slightest wash, the fine proportions of the figure, so different to the long ungainly bodies of



*Alinari*

FAITH. DRAWING BY ANDREA VERROCCHIO. UFFIZI, FLORENCE

*Face p. 146*



Piero's Virtues, reveal the hand of a Master, and I have little hesitation in accepting the drawing as the design of Verrocchio mentioned in the documents.\*

It is perhaps idle to speculate why the work of so feeble a painter as Piero should have been chosen before that of Verrocchio. We have record of a similar preference in the competition for the Forteguerri Tomb of Pistoja, when the design of Piero was again preferred to his (see p. 23). On that occasion it was decided by the commissioners that Piero's model was "*più bello et più degno d'arte*" than Verrocchio's, yet it is easy to see that the choice was really based on motives of economy, the price demanded by Verrocchio being more than they could afford. It is probable that the same reason influenced the Council of the Mercatanzia, for it is incredible that they should have really considered the drawing of Piero to be the best.

The Temperance, which seems to have formed the pendant to the Faith, is in equally bad condition. The face is entirely repainted with a hot red, varying little from the colour of the hair. The sleeves have been brocaded with gold, but the design is hardly perceptible beneath the smears of the restorer, who has hatched the high lights white in a manner unknown to the epoch. The mantle seems also to have been brocaded, but has been thickly over-painted with amethyst colour,

\* It would be interesting to know if the drawing of Faith attributed to Botticelli, No. 12 of the Malcolm Collection, British Museum, has connection with the series of Virtues with which it has much in common.



evidently copied from that of S. James in the S. Miniato Altarpiece. The brocaded robe has partly escaped, as also has a detail of much beauty—the water in the bowl with its delicately painted bubbles. The figure is of the characteristic construction of Piero, and the face has his insignificant features, and without the proof given by the documents the painting would be recognised as his work.

There remain the Hope and Justice, neither of which are mentioned in the documents, but which by analogy with the Madonna of the Berlin *Annunciation*, must certainly be by Piero. They are on a larger scale than any of the foregoing, and evidently matched each other on the walls. They are badly damaged and repainted, though less so than the Faith and Temperance. In both the lower part of the work, from the draperies downward, is entirely modern.

The Hope is a coarse and robust female, solidly modelled but without feeling for bone, giving the impression of inflation peculiar to Piero's figures. In construction she resembles closely the Virgin of the Berlin *Annunciation*, with her round, boneless face, small shoulders, and huge stomach and legs. The mantle drawn across the knees has been heavily daubed by the restorer, but the brocaded gown, though much retouched, is better preserved.

The Justice is built on the same heavy lines, but is less vulgar than the Hope. The face and the flat unmodelled neck have much resemblance to those of the Prudence. The mantle is the work of the restorer,

who has evidently copied the colour from that of the Prudence. The upper part is better preserved, the brick-red brocade, the steel shoulder-piece, with its edge of linked mail, and the curious Oriental head-dress, being but little damaged.\*

It is interesting to note in connection with Botticelli's rivalry with Piero, that in designing his Fortitude, although he has conformed, as he was bound, to the general scheme, he has followed it as little as possible in detail. The painting shows however, as does all his earlier work, the strong influence of Antonio, and the fact that he was at this time in rivalry with his brother, does not preclude the reasonable assumption that he was at one time actually his pupil.†

\* In connection with this series of paintings may be mentioned a small panel representing Justice, in the Museum of S. Apollonia, there ascribed to the School of Pollaiuolo, and evidently inspired by them.

† Since writing the above a panel representing the Madonna, having complete analogy with the series, has been purchased for the Strasburg Museum. As it is known to me only by photograph I refrain from any criticism. The figure is seated like the others, but the throne has curtains draped behind it. The mantle is drawn across the knees, but the folds differ in form. The brocaded gown is bordered on the chest with the words AVE MARIA GRA embroidered in pearls. The child has one hand raised in blessing, the other holds a crystal globe.

## CHAPTER X

### THE PUCCI ALTARPIECE, 1475

THE only existing dated work, except the drawing of Charity above mentioned, executed by Antonio between the designs for the Embroideries and the Relief of the Silver Altar, is the Altarpiece of S. Sebastian, painted for the Pucci Chapel in the SS. Annunziata, now in the National Gallery, and for the date of this—1475—we have no authority but Vasari's statement. We have, however, the following documentary notices of goldsmith's work of this epoch, all of which has unfortunately perished.

In 1472 he was commissioned by the Signoria to execute a silver helmet, goblets and other vessels, to be presented to Federigo di Montefeltro, Count of Urbino, in recognition of his services, as Captain of the troops of the Republic, in reducing Volterra to submission. (Doc. XVI. p. 272.) In 1473 he was again commissioned by the Signoria to make a large silver basin for use in the Chapel, and of this we have the notice that it was wrought with garlands and *putti*. (Doc. XVIII. p. 273.) The basin is mentioned in the Inventory of the treasure belonging to the Signoria, made on September 1, 1473,



*Hanfstäengl*

S. SEBASTIAN. BY ANTONIO AND PIERO POLLAIUOLO  
NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON

*Fine p. 159*



in the following words, "A large new basin with garlands of babies of silver in the middle."\* In 1473 he made a Silver Cross for the Church of the Carmine, at the cost of 170 florins, money left for the purpose by Madonna Bonina de' Ricci.†

Of the Altarpiece of S. Sebastian (Plate XXXIII.) the best known and most popular of all Antonio's paintings, Vasari gives the following notice:

"In the Chapel of the Pucci, in the Servi, Antonio executed the picture for the Altar of S. Sebastian, which is of rare excellence; in which are admirable horses, nudes, and most beautiful foreshortened figures, and the S. Sebastian himself portrayed from life, that is, from Gino di Lodovico Capponi: and this work was more praised than any other painted by Antonio. Wherefore in order to imitate nature as far as possible, he painted in one of the archers, who, pressing his bow against his breast, bends to the ground to load it, all the force that one

\* "Un bacino grande nuovo con grillanda di bambocci d'ariento nel mezzo," (Inventario generale di tutte le massenzie e beni che sono appresso alla signoria cioè di tutte le cose dedicate alla capella &c. dal 1458—1479, Arch. delle Riformag. di Firenze, Cod. In 4°. Seg. No. 101, c. 56 V°)

† See Zibaldone del Migliore, II., c. 68, "1473, Nella qual Chiesa" (the Carmine) "trovasi una Croce d'argento che costò fiorini 170 di suggello qual fece e dette finita il dì 30 di agosto 1473 Ant° del Pollaiuolo, orafo celebre, quali denari furono consegnati per tal opera in mano a Ser Piero del Pugliese, e questa somma sino in 100 fiorini ci lasciò M<sup>a</sup> Bonnina de Ricci, che fu madre di Piero e Gio. Guiducci, che ci dettono questo danaro come eredi, di lor Madre, e ci pervenne questo lascito per la morte di Frate fran° Agostino nostro Religioso, e fino al intero pagam fu fatto dal Convento."

strong in the arms could exert in loading that weapon ; so that one sees the swelling of the veins and muscles and the holding of the breath to gain more force. And this is not the only figure painted with care, but all the rest besides, in various attitudes, prove very clearly the skill and attention put into the work ; the which was certainly recognised by Antonio Pucci, who gave him in payment 300 scudi, affirming that it hardly paid him for the colours. It was finished in the year 1475." \*

Vasari makes a mistake in stating that the Saint was a portrait of Gino Capponi, for he died before Antonio was born. Moreover the face is merely stylistic and has the characteristic features of Piero, resembling almost exactly the drawing of Faith, with its weak expression, its rounded eyelids and insignificant mouth. The date given by Vasari is probably correct, but must be accepted with hesitation, unsupported as it is by any evidence. The painting must, however, date from the full maturity of Piero, whose share in the work shows a marked advance beyond any we have yet seen.

It is one of the few pictures whose history can be traced without a break down to the present day. It remained in the Chapel of S. Sebastian in the SS. Annunziata, until the Marchese Pucci removed it to his own Palace, from whence, in 1857, it passed to the National Gallery. It has been somewhat restored, but is in fairly good condition.

Opinion differs as to the share of the brothers in the

\* Vasari, iii. p. 292.

work. Vasari, as has been seen, gives it entirely to Antonio, and Baldinucci follows his lead.\* Antonio Billi, the Anonimo Gaddiano,† and Albertini,‡ on the other hand, attribute it to Piero. Among modern critics, Morelli considered the cartoon to be by Antonio and the execution by Piero, while Mr. Berenson attributes both to Antonio. My own study leads me to the opinion that the composition is entirely due to Antonio and a large part also of the execution, namely, the two archers loading their bows in the foreground, the spirited groups of figures in the background, and the characteristic landscape. To the brush of Piero I attribute the remaining four archers and the figure of the Saint himself, but Piero has advanced beyond the pulpy masses of flesh of his preceding work, and is capable at this epoch of imitating the construction of Antonio. Weak in action, and lacking in expression and energy as are the figures, they are much superior to the Madonna of the Berlin *Annunciation* and the *Mercatanzia Virtues*.

In composition the picture is superb, and shows all

\* "Fra le belle pitture che di tutta sua mano" (Antonio's) "si veggiono pubblicamente in Firenze, una è la tavola del S. Sebastiano della Cappella de' Pucci contigua alla Chiesa della Santissima Nuntiata, la qual tavola fece l'anno 1475," &c. Baldinucci's words are almost a transcript of Vasari's.

† "Piero del Pollaiuolo fecie . . . una tavola di S<sup>to</sup> Bastiano a S<sup>ta</sup> Maria de' Servi, dove ritrasse Gino di Lodovico Capponi." (Antonio Billi, p. 27. The words of the Anonimo hardly vary.)

‡ "Nella Nuntiata . . . Nello oratorio contiguo di Sancto Sebastiano de' Pucci è una tavola bellissima di Piero Pullaro . . ." (Albertini, *Memoriale*).



the peculiarities of Antonio—his pyramidal building up, and his method of giving grandeur to his figures by the elimination of the middle distance. As in the Hercules panels, the scene is placed upon a hill, beyond which the eye falls at once on the distant landscape. Had all the figures been painted by his own hand with the same splendid energy of the two archers, the Altarpiece would have been one of the most impressive masterpieces of the *quattrocento*, for in no other work known to me, not even in the drawings of Leonardo, nor the frescoes of Michelangelo, has physical energy been so concentrated as in these two figures. So completely do they dominate the scene, that, like Vasari, we remark nothing but them. The Saint is insignificant, the remaining archers are puppets, only these two magnificent athletes fill the panel. And this is the highest tribute to the power of Antonio, for they are devoid of literary or dramatic interest, are in fact nothing but *atelier* studies of the nude, introduced to show off their thews and sinews—*tours de force* of splendid foreshortening and muscular effort.

That the figures of the other archers were designed by Antonio, the construction of the bodies, the type of face, and arrangement of the draperies, proves. But in the actual painting the feeble hand of Piero is evident. The superficial forms he has copied, but he has been unable to endue them with life, much less with energy. The faces with their harsh features and stubbly beards resemble the Hercules type, and so do the meagre sinewy limbs. Form, attitude, and action are all

Antonio's, but though the bone beneath the flesh is indicated, and the outward forms of strength are imitated, no real force animates these figures. There is no effort in the arms that pull the bowstring, nor any pressure or grip of the feet upon the ground. The would-be ferocity of the faces has resulted in feeble grimace. It has been already remarked that the legs of the Archer to the left are exactly similar to those of the Berlin *David*, not only in construction and attitude, but even to the sandals. But what a contrast between the nervous energy of the one and the limp inertness of the other! Not one of these archers of Piero has any weight or balance. The action of the arms is fixed and motionless, and it is impossible to see, as we do in the works of Antonio, the past and succeeding movements.

With his usual indifference to subject, Antonio has left the principal figure to Piero, who seems however to have patched the S. Sebastian together from his designs. That Antonio is responsible for the weak attitude, and sentimental face is incredible, but the torso, with its broad shoulders and square pectorals, is of the Hercules build, and we shall find the counterpart of the legs and feet in his nude archer below, slightly varied and robbed of all strength, but evidently copied from them. It is interesting to compare these limbs, alike in form yet so dissimilar in character. Muscular force and effort have never been better presented than in those of Antonio's archer. The toes grip the ground with a tenacity our own muscles involuntarily imitate, while

the legs of Piero's Saint, alike in outline, dangle as feebly as a puppet's.

Perhaps never has human energy been so concentrated as in the two archers of Antonio. The bodies vibrate with effort and strain, and even beneath the velvet of the doublet the swell of the muscles is evident. Every sinew in our own body responds more readily than before the antique Hercules, or even than before the athletes of Michelangelo. The two figures represent the climax of physical force and energy. It will be observed that, as is so often the case in *quattrocento* art, the two are identical in posture and action, are in fact, the same model seen from different points of view. This is the case also with Piero's two archers on either side.

In appreciating the anatomy and action of Antonio's figures, the costume of the clothed archer should not be overlooked. It is a marvellous bit of painting, with its rich harmonious colour and admirable realisation of the texture of the velvet.

The background, with its animated groups of soldiers, must certainly be Antonio's own work, as well as the beautiful far-stretching landscape. In none of his other paintings is the eye carried back thus far. In the distance beyond the hill on which the martyrdom takes place, are small figures as full of fire and life as a sketch by Leonardo. To the left two mounted knights fight with fierce gesture, and even at this distance we can appreciate the fury of their combat. Balancing them on the other side are two others, one of whom has

received his death-wound and throws back his head with a yell of agony. In the centre another shouts furiously, and with so much realism is it painted, that we seem to hear the sound as it issues from the wide open mouth. Beyond are more groups of soldiers on horse and foot and on the edge of the river others gallop madly, their horses seeming actually to leap across the picture. Assuredly Piero, who was unable to animate the foreground archers with life, had no hand in these vivid and vehement figures.

To the left is a ruined Roman Arch, decorated with reliefs, and even these carvings are full of movement and energy. In the centre medallion is a relief which recalls the drawing of the Prisoner brought before the Judge, while below, in the archway, is a most spirited battle scene. In the angles above are the negro heads, the *stemma* of the Pucci, for whom the Altarpiece was painted.

Beyond the animated groups of horsemen stretches far back the quiet valley of the Arno, as seen from below, Florence, the city with its almond-shaped walls and principal buildings visible on the left. It is one of the most beautiful and spacious of all these landscapes repeated so often by Antonio.

All the old writers have agreed in their praise of this Altarpiece, which seems to have been the most popular of his works, and to have exercised a very important influence on contemporary painters, as the numerous imitations show. It appears that it was not the only painting of the subject executed by him. Richa records

that in the Church of S. Jacopo sopr' Arno, was a panel three *braccia* in height, said to be his work, representing S. Sebastian tied to a tree. "The said picture," he writes, "has been left neglected for many years, and in 1757 was cleaned by the celebrated living painter Agostino Veracini." \*

In the so-called Verrocchio Sketch-Book, on one of the sheets in the Louvre, is a pen-drawing of S. Sebastian evidently copied from some design by Antonio. Body and limbs are of the meagre Hercules build, and the face, with its square jaw, is of that type. One arm is tied above the head, and the legs are posed differently to those in the Pucci painting. Below is a nude archer, indifferently sketched, but which bears some trace of Antonio's style. As most of the drawings of the Sketch-Book are copied from popular Florentine works of art, it is probable that this was done from some well-known painting, possibly the lost panel of S. Jacopo.

Two drawings by Antonio's own hand are in existence, studies for a similar subject, though obviously not for the Pucci Altarpiece. In the Kupferstichkabinet, Berlin, is a superb pen and sepia sketch of a nude archer.† The legs are planted firmly, widely stretched, as in the

\* Richa "Chiese fiorentini," x. p. 355.

† Reproduced by Dr. Gronau in his work "Aus Raphaels Florentiner Tagen," Berlin, 1902. IV. II. Of this drawing Mr. Berenson writes in his "Florentine Drawings," "In the Poldi Pezzoli is a predella, with the subject of the Martyrdom of S. Sebastian, ascribed to Antonio, wherein the action of this figure is copied exactly. This mediocre picture must have been painted by a person who had the felicitous idea of combining the styles of Pollaiuolo and Credi."

figure to the left of the Pucci Altarpiece, but the action of the upper part of the body is too different for it to have served Piero as his model. The broad shoulders and slender waist, the large nose and square jaw, resemble closely the Hercules type. The action, as he draws the bowstring to his ear is full of energy. The drawing is sharp and vigorous with the flame-like quality of touch peculiar to Antonio and Leonardo. Morelli possessed a pen-sketch of S. Sebastian, which he considered to be Antonio's study for the figure in the Pucci Altarpiece, but again, the differences are too great for this to be likely. The position is reversed, the body and head being turned to the left instead of to the right, and there are other essential differences. The drawing is much injured, and has been gone over in parts by a later hand, especially about the head, but the energy and touch of the pen justify the attribution to Antonio.\*

Among the most important of the paintings of a similar subject showing the influence of Antonio, are the *S. Sebastian* by Botticelli in the Berlin Gallery, and that of Signorelli in the Pinacoteca, Città di Castello. The former was, according to the Anonimo Gaddiano, painted in 1473 for the Church of S. Maria Maggiore,† and bears much resemblance to the figure of the Pucci

\* Now in the Collection of Signor Frizzoni, Milan. Reproduced in his "Collezione di quaranta disegni scelti della raccolta del Senatore Giov. Morelli," Hoepli, 1886, Plate II.

† "In santa Maria Maggiore è di sua mano un San Bastiano in tavola, che è in una colonna, il quale fece di Giennaio nel 1473." (Anon. Gadd. p. 70.)

Altarpiece. It passed for years under Antonio's name, and there can be no question as to his influence. Torso, arms, and legs, in structure and position are alike, but the figure is certainly not copied from the sentimental saint of Piero, with his head thrown back in weak despair. Botticelli's *S. Sebastian* is calm and indifferent, and it is most likely that both his and Piero's were imitated from some original by Antonio's own brush, possibly the lost painting of S. Jacopo. If this be so, and the dates of Vasari and the Anonimo are correct, this work would be earlier than the Pucci Altarpiece by at least two years.

Signorelli, strongly influenced as he was throughout his life by Antonio, has imitated the painting in his Altarpiece, executed in 1496 for the Church of S. Domenico, Città di Castello, now in the Pinacoteca. The weak saint of Piero he has ignored, his figure standing upright and firmly balanced on the tree, but the composition, and particularly the two soldiers stringing their bows in the foreground, are obviously inspired by Antonio.

Among the less important paintings of the subject bearing marks of Antonio's influence, is the life-sized *S. Sebastian* by Jacopo di Barbari, No. 384 of the Pitti Gallery, still unaccountably attributed to Antonio himself. It is a nude of Antonio's athletic type, and is constructed somewhat in his manner, with huge shoulders, bent legs, and hard developed bone and muscle, but the resemblance is superficial only, and cannot have been inspired by the Pucci Altarpiece.



*H. Burton*

COMMUNION OF S. MARY OF EGYPT. BY ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO  
PIEVE, STAGGIA, NEAR POGGIBONSI

*Facci p. 160*





Perhaps somewhat earlier than the S. Sebastian may be placed the Altarpiece representing the Communion of S. Mary of Egypt, recently discovered in the Church of Staggia, near Poggibonsi. (Plate XXXIV.) The picture was originally brought to notice by Mr. Mason Perkins, who however attributed it to Botticini. Mr. Berenson\* first gave it to its true author, Antonio Pollaiuolo, but he allows him the design only, and considers the execution to be by Piero. To me the painting seems to be not only designed by Antonio, but executed, at least in the greater part, by his own hand.

The Saint has just issued from her rock-cave, and supported by Angels, who surround her in the form of a *mandorla*, receives the wafer of the Sacrament. The composition is fine and impressive. The large figure is treated with the utmost realism, the nude limbs being those of an elderly woman somewhat wasted, and the haggard face shows traces of former beauty. She resembles almost exactly the kneeling Saint in the embroidery representing Christ in Limbo. Face, arms, hands, and legs, are identical. She is clad in her own hair, tied with a loose girdle, and in the embroidery she wears a hair shirt; the figure is more upright, but except for these slight changes the same drawing might have served for both.

As usual in Antonio's composition, there is no middle distance, and the figures stand out impressively against the distant landscape—a landscape so ruined that the winding stream of the Arno can be only dimly dis-

\* B. Berenson, "Due quadri inediti a Staggia," "Rassegna d'Arte," 1905.

cerned. The picture has been badly repainted, especially the faces and draperies, yet in spite of this the figures retain much energy and force. The wrinkled face of the Saint is admirably constructed, and the strong limbs, with their well-defined bone and muscle, and the sinewy beautifully shaped hands, must surely be the work of Antonio himself. To none of his figures, however well he has imitated the structure, has Piero been able to impart the strength of this. The Angels, with their square jaws and prominent cheek-bones, their large cutting wings and vehement action, are of the same family as those in the fresco of S. Miniato and on the Silver Cross. The swift movement of the one which flies impetuously out of the cave is specially characteristic. In the hands of Piero, judging by all precedent, the energy and concentration, the rapidity of movement and all the qualities which make the painting so impressive, would have vanished, and we should have had, as in the archers of S. Sebastian, mere flaccid and lifeless forms.

In connection with this painting it is of interest to note that the husband of Maddalena, the second daughter of Antonio, belonged to a family settled in Staggia—Bruno, son of Ser Benedetto, probably notary of the town.

Another example of Piero imitating Antonio's style and failing to reproduce more than the forms is to be seen in a work which must date from about the same time as the Altarpiece of S. Sebastian. This is the fresco of S. Christopher, now in the Metropolitan



S. CHRISTOPHER. FRESCO BY PIERO POLLAIUOLO  
METROPOLITAN MUSEUM, NEW YORK  
(By kind permission of the Director)

*Plat. p. 162*



Museum, New York, evidently a copy of Antonio's work. (Plate XXXV.) It would seem to be a *replica* on a reduced scale of a perished fresco, mentioned by Vasari as having been painted by Antonio on the *façade* of the now-demolished Church of S. Miniato fra le Torri, which stood near Or S. Michele in the street which still bears its name. "For S. Miniato fra le Torri, outside the door, Antonio painted a S. Cristofano, ten *braccia* high, a very beautiful work, executed in the modern style. It is the best-proportioned figure of the size that had been done up to that time."\* Antonio Billi and the "Anonimo Gaddiano" also mention the fresco, but attribute the execution to Piero, and the design only to Antonio.† Albertini attributes the entire work to Piero.‡

In the time of Baldinucci the fresco was still to be seen, though much injured, and of it he gives the following notice:

"In our day is to be seen the marvellous figure of S. Christopher in fresco, ten *braccia* high, which he (Antonio) painted on the *façade* of the church of S. Miniato fra le Torri, a figure which had the reputation of being the best proportioned that had been done up to

\* Vasari, iii. p. 293.

† "Piero del Pollaiuolo fecie uno S<sup>to</sup> Cristofano a S<sup>to</sup> Miniato fra le Torre che fu disegno di Ant<sup>o</sup> suo fratello" (Antonio Billi, ed. Carl Frey, Berlin, 1892, p. 27). "In Firenze dipinse" (Piero) "nella faccia dinanzi della chiesa di san Miniato fra le tore un San Cristofano, et si dice esserne il disegno di Antonio suo fratello" ("L'Anonimo Gaddiano,"—ed. Cornel v. Fabriczy, Firenze, 1893, p. 72).

‡ "In Sancto Miniato fra le Torri è una tavola d'Andreina, et il sancto Christ. fuori è braccia X di Pietro Pullaro."

that time. The Saint stands, one leg in repose, the other lifted, and the limbs are so well drawn, so well proportioned and supple, that it is reported Michelangelo Buonarroti himself, in his youth drew them many times for study."

And the following note is appended :

"A few years ago the legs and other parts of the figure being reduced to a bad state by exposure to the inclemency of the air, were repainted by an *imbiancatore*, with what art and perfection the reader may see. O vicissitudes of things human !"

The last notice we have of the perished fresco is by Richa in his description of the *façade* of the Church. "Over the door outside, is to be seen a Madonna of glazed terracotta, very beautiful, the work of Luca della Robbia, and on the right of it is a S. Christopher, ten *braccia* high, painted in fresco by Antonio del Pollaiuolo." The rest of the notice is a repetition of the words of Baldinucci, about Michelangelo copying the figure, "some imitation of it," he adds, "being observable in the David of the Piazza." \*

If, as seems probable, the fresco in the Metropolitan Museum is a copy of this perished work, there is little doubt but that it was by Antonio, for both face and figure have his characteristic forms. The spare sinewy frame, the muscular legs, the lean face with the thin beard and moustache, resemble the Hercules type. The seizure of the transitory movement is also characteristic, although much has evidently been lost in passing through the hands of Piero. It is a timid copy in

\* Richa, "Chiese fiorentini," Firenze, 1762, iv. p. 71.

which the strength and energy of the original are only vaguely suggested; the expression of the face is weak, and the movement vacillating and uncertain, but our acquaintance with the Hercules paintings enables us to reconstruct the perished fresco, and to understand the admiration excited by so admirable a figure on so colossal a scale. There is a marked advance in Piero's work, the forms are better imitated, and the bone and muscle better realised than in any of his foregoing paintings, except perhaps the archers of S. Sebastian.

The fresco measures 112½ inches by 59, about a quarter the size of the original. It is known to me only by photograph, but if one may offer an opinion from such superficial acquaintance, it seems to be much repainted and the face of the child and the landscape to have lost the character of the epoch. It is also difficult to believe that even Piero was guilty of the badly drawn hand resting on the hip, which has more resemblance to a bird's claw than to a human hand.

One other work by Piero may find a place here since it evidently belongs to his full maturity—the ruined fresco in the lunette over the Altar in the Sacristy of S. Niccolò, representing the Madonna giving the girdle to S. Thomas. It is inscribed with the date 1450, but this is obviously a forgery, the letters having been smeared in by the restorer. It was attributed by Cavalcaselle to Alesso Baldovinetti, chiefly on account of the landscape, which resembles that in the fresco of the Nativity in the cloister of the SS. Annunziata.\* It was

\* Cavalcaselle, "Storia della Pittura," vi. p. 61.



Mr. Berenson who first detected the hand of Piero in the painting, of which he writes that "type, draperies and landscape point clearly to his style, while showing his close relationship with Baldovinetti." \* It seems to me, however, that the influence may well have been received indirectly through Antonio, for the landscape has even more resemblance to his usual Arno valley. In the right foreground lies a deer, admirably painted, which recalls that in the background of the Hercules panel, and another of which mention will presently be made in the cartoon of S. Jerome. The Virgin, surrounded by angels and cherubs in the form of a *mandorla*, hovers over the Tomb filled with roses, by the side of which kneels S. Thomas. The Tomb is of marble, but is bound at the corners by metal acanthus leaves, which recall Verrocchio's Sarcophagus in S. Lorenzo. The fresco, if in reality designed by Piero, is one of the best compositions by his hand. It is in so ruined a condition that little but the general forms can be criticised. The deer has, however, fared better than the rest, and in its truth to nature and easy attitude, suggests the co-operation of Antonio himself, as also do the fine landscape, the plastic treatment of what remains of the head of S. Thomas, and the straight angular folds of the draperies. The condition of the fresco forbids a more definite judgment.

\* Berenson, "Florentine Drawings," i. p. 26, note †.

## CHAPTER XI

### THE RELIEF OF THE SILVER ALTAR

1477-1480

THE Silver Altar of S. Giovanni is perhaps the most priceless of the art-treasures of Italy, not only for its intrinsic beauty, but because, thanks to the time that elapsed between commencement and finish, in its reliefs the progress of Florentine art can be traced for a hundred years. It is besides, for its elaborate and exquisite decorations, one of the marvels of the goldsmith's craft.

The original design was not for an Altar, but only a Dossale which was to be placed upon the Altar for the exhibition of the relics. It was not until 1483 that the cornice and base of carved and gilded wood were added, by which it assumed the dimensions of an Altar.

Its history is briefly as follows. In the prosperous years of the fourteenth century it was decided to endow the Church of S. Giovanni with a Dossale, worthy of the Republic. The original document of commission is not forthcoming, but the inscription on the Altar itself

records that it was begun in 1366. This inscription runs round the base on the left side, enamelled in Gothic letters, and is as follows. ANNO DOMINI 1366 INCEPTUM FUIT HOC OPUS DOSSALIS TENPORE BENEDICTI NEROZZI DE ALBERTIS PAULI MICHAELIS DE RONDINELLIS BERNARDI DOMINI CHORONIS DE CHORONIBUS OFFICIALIUM DEPUTATORUM. These names—Benedetto degli Alberti, Paolo Rondinelli and Bernardo Coroni—are those of the officials of the Arte della Mercatanzia, by whom the commission was given. The first document of payment is dated January 16, 1367, and states that the design was by Betto di Geri and Leonardo di Ser Giovanni, the latter known for the equally elaborate, though less artistic, Silver Altar in the Pistoja Cathedral.\* In 1377 the name of Leonardo no longer figures in the documents of payment, and instead we find those of Cristofano di Paolo and Michele di Monte, the former apparently acting as chief goldsmith. In 1425 the following entry shows how much was at that date completed :

“Dossale of Silver . . . for the Altar of S. Giovanni, worked in relief with the story of S. John the Baptist, in eight square compartments, each about one *braccia* square, with thirty entire figures of silver placed above in the manner of a frieze, each figure standing in its niche, with an arched Tabernacle in the centre with many niches, in which is to stand the large figure of S. John the Baptist, to be made of silver, with many pilasters and niches above

\* The Silver Altar of Pistoja was begun before that of S. Giovanni. Leonardo was at work upon it from 1355—1371.

and at the sides. And this Dossale, placed entire upon wood and strengthened, is preserved in the house of the said *Operai* in a wooden chest made for it. The Altar is placed in the Church of S. Giovanni on the vigil of his nativity, which is celebrated each year on the 24th day of June." \*

In 1402 the work had ceased for lack of funds, and the Dossale remained in its unfinished state for fifty years, when (1452) Michelozzo was commissioned to make the statue of the Baptist for the central Tabernacle. Again a quarter of a century elapsed, and it was not till 1477 that the lacking side reliefs were undertaken. In that year on July 24, Verrocchio and Antonio Pollaiuolo received the commission to execute models. Verrocchio presented two and Antonio three, for which they received respectively the sum of six and eight florins. (It must be remembered that such models were executed and paid for independently of the ultimate commission, becoming the property of the commissioners. They were generally exhibited to the public before the final decision.)

The competition for a work of such importance was inevitable and, as in the case of the Virtues of the Mercatanzia, the models of the better Masters were rejected in favour of those who were willing to demand less money. Thus we find that in 1477 Antonio di Salvi and Francesco di Giovanni, goldsmiths, partners

\* See "Catalogo del Museo dell' Opera del Duomo," Firenze, 1904, p. 67. All the documents relating to the commission are transcribed in the Appendix (Doc. XIX. p. 274).

in a *bottega* in the Vacchereccia, obtained the commission to execute two of the reliefs—the Banquet of Herod and the Decollation of the Baptist—and Bernardo di Bartolommeo Cenni the remaining two—the Annunciation to Zaccharias and the Birth, Verrocchio and Pollaiuolo being quite excluded from the work. Was it perhaps the intervention of Lorenzo de' Medici that made them alter this decision, as in the case of the Forteguerri Tomb of Pistoja, or some reduction in price made by the Masters? At all events the work was finally distributed as follows—the Decollation to Verrocchio, the Birth to Antonio, the Annunciation to Bernardo Cenni, and the Banquet of Herod to the partners Antonio di Salvi and Francesco di Giovanni. This commission is dated Jan. 13, 1478. (1479 of our reckoning.) It is little to the credit of the commissioners that these last should have been preferred to Verrocchio and Antonio, for their work is of the poorest, combining every defect of trivial conception and execution. The Annunciation of Cenni is *trecento* in its *naïveté* of treatment, but it is a *naïveté* without charm, due only to ignorance, while the Banquet of Herod is merely a vulgar caricature of the manner of Verrocchio. Verrocchio's Decollation and Antonio's Birth are among the finest works of these realistic Masters, and it is indicative of the fallacy of popular judgment, even in that time of artistic appreciation, that they should have been placed on an equality with such paltry work as that of Cenni and Salvi.

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The four reliefs were finished in 1480. Verrocchio received 397 florins, 21 lire and 1 soldo; Antonio, 487 florins, 1 lira, 16 soldi and 4 denari; Antonio di Salvi and his partner, 384 florins, 12 soldi and 10 denari, and Bernardo Cenni 475 florins, 2 lire, 5 soldi and 10 denari. The prices are of interest as proving that the poor work of Cenni and Salvi was equally well paid with that of Antonio and Verrocchio, the differences being merely according to the greater or less amount of metal employed. The artists had, besides the reliefs, to make all the pinnacles, niches, statuettes and other decorations, in accordance with the older part of the Dossale.

The history of the Baptist begins on the left of the front of the Dossale, and ends on the right side with the Banquet of Herod. The eight original reliefs of the fourteenth century, comprise the following scenes.

1. The Departure of the child Baptist to the Desert.
2. The Presentation of Christ to the Multitude.
3. The Preaching of Christ to the Multitude.
4. The Baptism of Christ.
5. The Baptist rebuking Herod.
6. The Baptist disputing with the Pharisees.
7. The Disciples visiting the Baptist in Prison.
8. Christ healing the Sick.

Nothing could be more beautiful than the proportions and general design of the Altar, nothing more dainty than the elaborate carvings and enamels which adorn it. Above the reliefs a series of small niches run round beneath the cornice. They are enamelled on a blue ground with figures, in colours of the same gem-like glow as those on the Cross above,

and each niche contains a small carefully wrought statuette. In the angles of the arches of these niches are round apertures from which tiny heads look out, a design followed in the architectural decoration of the Robbia school. Between each relief is an elaborate Gothic pinnacle ornamented with statuettes and enamels. The decoration of the sides corresponds precisely with the earlier part of the Altar.

The central Tabernacle is of the fifteenth century, as is proved by the character of the statuettes which surmount it, one of which is a copy of the Joshua of Bernardo Ciuffagni, now in the Duomo.

Antonio's relief, representing the Birth of the Baptist (Plate XXXVI.), is on the left side of the Altar. It is one of the most poetic of his works, realistic only in the sense that it gives a faithful *genre* picture of a contemporary Florentine interior. In composition it bears much resemblance to the same scene in the embroideries. Here, as there, we look into the deep interior of a room, in which the bed is placed midway. A servant brings refreshments behind, and the child with its nurses occupies the foreground. But the embroidery lacks the exquisite stag-like figure of the Virgin, who enters with her attendant, a figure which recalls so strongly the Flora in the *Primavera* of Botticelli, as to suggest that he had it in mind in painting her. The scene is treated with greater solemnity than in the embroidery—the figure in the bed, there verging on caricature, is of great beauty and severity, although the attitude hardly differs. The foreground scene—the washing of



*Alinari*

THE BIRTH OF THE BAPTIST. SILVER RELIEF. BY ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO  
MUSEO DELL' OPERA DEL DUOMO, FLORENCE

*Facc p. 172*





the child—is sacramentally solemn, notwithstanding the realism of detail, as for example the woman feeling the temperature of the water. The severity of the composition, of the attitudes, and expressions, of the draperies with their long straight folds, is remarkable at this period of Antonio's development. A few years later and he will be executing the most *bizarre* and voluptuous work of the *quattrocento*—the Arts and Sciences round the Tomb of Sixtus.

Technically the work is admirable. The depth of space is as usual presented with wonderful realism. The perspective is faultless, and the space values between the figures rendered with a success quite marvellous, when it is considered that even those at the end of the room are in high relief. All are wrought in one piece of metal, with the exception of the Virgin, which is attached to the background with a screw.

The Altar is in a state of almost perfect preservation. During the five centuries that have elapsed since it was begun, its only damage consists in the loss of one of the small statuettes of the frieze, of seven of the tiny figures in the pilasters, and a few ornaments. During the stormy times of Florence, when most of its treasures were melted down, the Altar was spared, as representing the importance of the city. In 1527 the Signoria, in sore straits for money, wished to pawn it, but did not dare, so infuriated were the people at the mere suggestion.\*

\* See Franceschini, "Il Dossale d'argento del Tempio di S. Giovanni," Firenze, 1894.

Albertini gives the following description of the Altar as it stood in S. Giovanni :

"In the said Temple is an Altar, all of fine silver, gilded, with the statue of S. Giovanni in the middle, by the hand of Antonio Pullaro" (Albertini makes the same error as Vasari in attributing Michelozzo's feeble figure to Antonio), "and scenes in high relief by other Masters, of admirable richness. Upon it is placed a very high cross, all of fine silver, with most suitable figures, and the eight large silver candelabra, and the golden rose, the gift of the Pope, and many vases and reliquaries with figures and enamels, by the hands of most learned Masters." \*

Another description of the Altar as exhibited in the Piazza del Duomo in 1530 is worth quoting :

"On the 16th day of May was shown in the Piazza of S. Giovanni, before the doors of S. Maria del Fiore and of S. Giovanni Battista, in the midst of the said Piazza, the Silver Altar of S. Giovanni Battista and all the relics of the Saint, and above the said Altar the *baldacchino*, attached to a rope that was stretched across the said place. Afterwards was sung a solemn Mass of the Holy Spirit in S. Maria del Fiore, the Signoria, the Guilds and Magistrates being present, and the Mass said, they went to seat themselves outside before the Church, as at the procession of S. Giovanni. Next, all the soldiers were assembled in S. Maria Novella, and marched in order to S. Giovanni, passing before the Altar; and then appeared two Canons chosen from those who were of highest dignity, with the Books of the Evangelists, and placed their hands

\* Albertini, "Memoriale, Quartiere di S. Giovanni."

upon these Evangelists in oath, and passed on; and in the said procession there were sixteen green banners, each having the sign of its Gonfalone." \*

As late as the eighteenth century the Altar was still brought twice every year from its wooden chest to the Baptistry, and exhibited in the octagonally paved space where once stood the font broken by Dante.† It was removed to the Museo dell' Opera del Duomo in 1891.

The final payment to Antonio for the relief was not made until 1483, but it is probable that it was finished long before this. Meantime he was employed by the same commissioners (in 1478) to make a Reliquary to contain the finger of the Baptist, and a cover for an Epistolario wrought in silver with figures. This last was melted down in 1500, and with the metal was made a pair of candlesticks by Paolo Sogliani.‡ Of the Reliquary we have no further notice.

\* Cambi, "Storie fiorentine," published in "Delizie del Padre Ildefonso," vol. xxiii.

† See Richa, "Chiese Fiorentine," 1762, vol. v. xxx. "In quello spazio dell' ottagono, lastricato in oggi di mattoni, due volte l'anno si colloca il meraviglioso Dossale di argento massiccio che pesa libbre 325." The Font was destroyed in 1576 on the occasion of the Baptism of Don Filippo, son of Francesco I. and Giovanna d'Austria.

‡ Vasari, iii. p. 298, note 2.

## CHAPTER XII

### PORTRAITS BY ANTONIO AND PIERO.

#### PIERO'S LATEST WORK. *C.* 1470-1483

It would be strange if so realistic an artist as Antonio had not been employed to execute portraits, at a time when every Florentine of any wealth and standing was having himself and his family painted. That he was so employed we have the evidence of Vasari and Baldinucci, but unfortunately none of the portraits mentioned by them are in existence. From Vasari we learn that he painted "Messer Poggio, secretary of the Signoria of Florence, who wrote the history of Florence after Messer Lionardo of Arezzo ; and Messer Gianozzo Manetti, a very learned and estimable personage." \* These were painted to form part of a collection of portraits of famous personages for the Palace of the Proconsolo, where the Guild of Judges and Notaries met. If they were painted from life, and not from already existing portraits, they would have been among his earliest existing works, since both Poggio Bracciolini and Manetti died in 1459. Baldinucci tells us that he executed many portraits, "which are to be

\* Vasari, iii. p. 292.

seen in our own time in the houses and galleries of citizens, very well preserved." \* The loss of all these works is infinitely to be regretted for judging by the superb realistic portraits of Innocent VIII. on the Roman Tomb, Antonio must have excelled in this as in all else, and have seized the essentials of character with the same unerring directness that he shows in the presentation of physical force.

One portrait may perhaps be attributed to him with a fair show of reason—one of the most beautiful works of the fifteenth century, the authorship of which has always been a mystery—the *Profile of a Lady* in the Poldi-Pezzoli Museum, Milan (Plate XXXVII.). In the official catalogue it is ascribed to Piero dei Franceschi, in spite of the obviously Florentine character of the work. It has also been attributed by different critics to Verrocchio, to Piero Pollaiuolo, and to Antonio, but tentatively rather than decisively. The work is certainly by a realist, and one well versed in the scientific methods of Antonio's school. The fine construction and modelling, with its feeling for bone and muscle, the delicate yet firm outline, the suggestion of the goldsmith in the treatment, as well as its connection with another profile, certainly Pollaiuolesque, all point to Antonio as the painter.

The panel is inscribed on the back *VXOR IOANNES DE BARDI*, and it has been generally supposed that it represents the same lady at a more advanced age as the well-

\* "Fece ancora molti altri ritratti che si veggiono a' nostri tempi per le case e gallerie de' Cittadini, molto ben conservati . . ."

known profile, really by Piero dei Franceschi, in the Berlin Gallery. The features certainly have much resemblance, but an essential difference forbids the acceptance of the identity of the ladies, for in the Berlin portrait the eyes are pale blue, while in that of Milan they are dark brown. The resemblance may be due to one of two things, either that they were sisters, or that the Milan picture was painted under the influence and in direct imitation of that of Berlin.

In execution the two portraits differ essentially. In that of Berlin, flesh and hair are very thinly painted in pale, almost monochromatic tones, and there is so little solidity in the modelling that the profile lies on the background almost as though cut out of paper. That the official attribution to Piero dei Franceschi is correct, the resemblance in style to his work, especially to the ladies of the Queen of Sheba in the Arezzo frescoes, proves, and it is probable that it dates from the same epoch—between 1452 and 1466. The Milan portrait must be, judging by the style of the hair, at least a decade later, probably nearer to 1470. It is boldly and solidly modelled, and in spite of the fact that the background is painted against it so thickly as to make a perceptible difference of surface, the profile stands out with great realism as a third-dimensional object. The intention is decorative, but it seems as though the artist's scientific training made him, in spite of his intention, realistic. His conception of the sitter differs equally. While the Berlin portrait presents a poetic and idealised study of a young girl, cold and



*Alinari*

PORTRAIT OF THE WIFE OF GIOVANNI DE' BARDI. BY ANTONIO  
POLLAIUOLO. POLDI-PEZZOLI MUSEUM, MILAN

*Face J. 178*





emotionless as are all Piero's figures, that of Milan is conceived with great realism. It shows a shrewd, practical lady, sharp-witted, perhaps a little *banale*, and certainly not without passions.

That the Milan portrait was executed under the influence of that of Berlin seems evident. The same importance is given to the outline, and there are many other superficial likenesses, so obvious that it is needless to point them out. It is not unlikely, if the sitters were really sisters, as the likeness of feature suggests, that it may even have been executed as a *pendant* to the older portrait.

No documentarily-authenticated portraits, male or female, by Antonio's own hands are in existence, and no heads painted on so large a scale—the portrait is life-size—by which to judge his style in this branch of art, but by the process of elimination his name seems forced upon us as the author of the painting. With the exception of Verrocchio, no other artist of the epoch to which it belongs, was capable of so fine and realistic a work, and it shows Antonio's characteristics far more than those of Verrocchio, both in conception and technique. The firm yet sensitive outline, the scientific modelling of the cheek and neck, the crisp touches of the hair, the vivacity of expression, correspond with the special qualities of Antonio's work. Comparing it with the portraits of Verrocchio I can find no points of resemblance, and who but these two among contemporary painters was able to combine so exquisitely the simple idealistic portraiture of the earlier *quattrocento*,

with the subtle and realistic treatment of the later, which found its culminating-point in the *Mona Lisa* of Leonardo?

There is further evidence in favour of Antonio's authorship in its connection with the much injured and repainted portrait of a lady, No. 3450 of the Uffizi (Plate XXXVIII.), like all this group ascribed to Piero dei Franceschi, but evidently Pollaiuolesque. The face has been so thickly repainted as to have nearly lost its original character, and at first sight seems rather to represent a lady of the eighteenth century, painted and powdered, than a *quattrocento* Florentine. Only a very close examination reveals the excellence of such parts of the original work as have escaped the brush of the repainter. Repaint nearly the whole of the picture is, from the crude blue of the background to the heavily stippled red of the cheek, which suggests the rouge pot. Hair and flesh are thickly over-painted, the outline of the face, perhaps once as delicate as that of the Milan portrait, has been lost in the smearing of the background against it. The nose especially has been coarsened and modernised. The ribbons which bind the hair have been edged with different colour like those of the Milan head, but are completely retouched. The strings of pearls which bind the hair are glassy and obviously modern. Only in the throat and neck, the repaint, being less thick, allows the original lines to appear, and these lines are similar to those in the Milan portrait. Such parts of the ear as are visible are also precisely the same.



*Alinari*

PORTRAIT OF LADY. BY ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO (REPAINTED)  
UFFIZI, FLORENCE

*Face p. 130*



It is strange that while the face and hair have been thus daubed over, the sleeve and bodice are untouched, and in an excellent state of preservation. Here the beautiful, carefully painted embroidery of the sleeve and the deep amethyst-coloured velvet have everything in common with Antonio's work. It is perhaps idle to speculate, yet the perfect preservation of the lower part of the painting, generally subject to most damage, and the eighteenth-century character of the head in its present state, suggest that the repainting may be due, not to any damage suffered by the original work, but to the effort to adapt the portrait to another sitter. The neglect—almost contempt—with which *quattrocento* work was regarded in the eighteenth century is well known, and it is at least possible that the portrait, which seems to have been always in the Medici Collection, may have been tampered with by some Court painter of one of the later Grand Dukes.

A third portrait shows unmistakable traces of Antonio's influence, and seems to be by Piero in his most mature years—the profile of a Lady in the Collection of the late Herr Hainauer, Berlin.\* It represents a young woman with a heavy and rather cruel expression, painted against a dark blue background. She wears a white cloth or veil folded round her head, and a green bodice cut very low on the chest, with a deep crimson velvet sleeve. The face is solidly modelled, but lacks, as in most of Piero's work, the feeling for bone

\* Bought from the Odier Collection, attributed by Mr. Berenson to Antonio himself, by Dr. Bode to Piero.

and muscle. The wisps of hair escaping from the folds of linen and hanging over the temples, point to a date subsequent to 1465, when the shaved forehead of the earlier epoch was beginning to be replaced by an elaborate *coiffure*.

The portrait of Galeazzo Sforza, No. 30 of the Uffizi (Plate XXXIX.), is proved by documentary evidence, as well as by the character of the work, to be by Piero. In the Inventory of the Medici possessions, made in 1510, it is thus mentioned: "In the large saloon on the ground floor, called the room of Lorenzo . . . a picture painted with the head of the Duke Ghaleazo, by the hand of Piero del Pollaiuolo;" and again in the Inventory of 1553: "A portrait on panel of a Duke of Milan, with gilded decoration and a doublet covered with golden lilies." \*

In the darkest part of the Corridor leading from the Uffizi to the Pitti, among the Portraits of Illustrious Personages painted for Cosimo I., is a portrait similar in all respects to that of Piero, except that the hand holding the glove is omitted. It is inscribed GALEACIVS M. SFORTIA MED: DVX. Most of the portraits in this collection were copied by Cristofano Papi, called L'Altissimo, from earlier paintings, chiefly by celebrated artists. Rossi, in his article on Piero's portrait,

\* "Nella chamera grande terrena detta Chamera di Lorenzo . . . un quadro dipintovi la testa del Duca Ghaleazo di mano di Piero del Pollaiuolo, f. 10."

"Un ritratto in tavola d'un duca di Milano con ornamento dorato et vesta piena di gigli dorati" (Müntz, "Les Collections des Médicis," p. 60).



*Alinari*

GALEAZZO SFORZA. BY PIERO POLLAIUOLO. UFFIZI, FLORENCE

*Face p. 182*





suggests that both paintings were copied from a lost original by a Lombard painter,\* a suggestion which seems very probable, for the character of the work is Lombard rather than Florentine. Both have, moreover, the stiff, conventional look of copied work.† It is possible that the original may have been presented by Galeazzo to Lorenzo on the occasion of his visit to Florence in 1471, and that Piero copied it some years later, for the painting belongs to his best and most mature period. The modelling is still faulty and the bone ill-suggested, the eyes have the rounded lids of the Virtues, the features are coarse and at the same time insignificant, but it has neither the puffy modelling of his earlier work, nor the puppet-like imbecility of expression. The portrait is in a very dilapidated condition, having been apparently cleaned with some corrosive which has exposed the underpaint, and most unskilfully restored, with smearing brush-strokes which give it a disagreeable look. The doublet, also smeared over between the lilies, is of a deeper green than that of the Corridor copy, which is paler and more harmonious.

One last work by Piero's unassisted brush, though not a portrait, must find a place here—the Coronation of the Virgin, in the Collegiata S. Gimignano (Plate XL.). It bears the date 1483, and must therefore have been executed shortly before his departure

\* Rossi, "Due Dipinti di Piero Pollaiuolo," "Arch. Stor. dell'Arte," 1890, p. 160.

† Cavalcaselle also was of opinion that the portrait by Piero was copied. Cavalcaselle, vi. p. 136.

for Rome. It is the only work to which he has signed his name, and represents, in spite of its dulness, the highest point of his development and his nearest approach to a scientific construction of the body.

The painting was commissioned by Fra Domenico Strambi,\* for the High Altar of the Church of S. Agostino, whence it was removed to the Collegiata. It is not in its original state, a strip having been cut off the top, as the remains of the cherubs show, and a piece added at the bottom. The composition is well balanced, but there is no feeling for space, and the picture seems overcrowded. Above, weighing heavily on the figures below, are Christ and the Virgin, and beneath the patron Saints of the city and church—to the right SS. Jerome, Gimignano and Niccolò da Tolentino, to the left SS. Agostino, Niccolò di Bari, and Santa Fina. The last is the only figure which retains something of the puffy modelling of his earlier work, the rest, particularly the Virgin and Christ, are as meagre and bony as skeletons. At the age of forty Piero has at last mastered the anatomy of the human frame, and as though proud of his knowledge, unduly accentuates the bone. The faces are no longer unmodelled lumps of flesh without expression, but show, especially those of Christ and St. Jerome, a knowledge of the skull, and they have all a certain gravity and

\* The same (called "Il Dottor Parigino" from the fame of his theological teaching in the Paris University) who, in 1464 commissioned Benozzo Gozzoli to paint the frescoes of the life of S. Agostino in the Choir Chapel of the same Church.



*Alinari*

CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN. BY PIERO POLLAIUOLO  
COLLEGIATA, S. GIMIGNANO

*Facc p 184*



concentration. It is evident that he has tried to imitate Antonio's forms, the knotted joints and sinewy limbs, but the power of presenting life is as far beyond his reach as ever. The figures have weight and substance and are less puppet-like than formerly, but they are still as lifeless as logs.

With the construction of the greater part of the figures no fault can be found, but his old lack of the sense of proportion is visible in the exaggerated height of the Virgin. Were she to rise she would be at least ten feet high. In spite of technical improvement few pictures are more completely uninteresting, or reveal more clearly the hopeless mediocrity of the artist. In his desire to correct the puffy modelling of his earlier work, Piero has fallen from one fault to another, for nothing could be uglier than the gaunt Virgin with her sour expression, or less attractive than the meagre Saints. The inflated folds of his earlier draperies he has also corrected, but they are still unstructural, and without any beauty of line. The painting is in oil, the colours, thickly applied, are dull and opaque, and have a vitreous shine in the flesh-tints.

The only sculptured work which can be attributed, and that with hesitation—to Piero, is the terra-cotta bust in the Museo Nazionale, which bears the name of Piero di Lorenzo de' Medici. It is officially attributed to Verrocchio, and was formerly, with as little reason, given to Antonio Pollaiuolo. The lack of energy and poor modelling are sufficient to exclude it as the work of either of these Masters. The face is modelled with

no feeling for the structure of the bone, the shoulders are like those of a badly carved dummy, and the attachment of the arms is indicated with a lack of science surprising even in so poor an anatomist as Piero. There is, however, in the puffy flesh and in the feebleness of expression, something which recalls his work more than that of any other artist of the time. If the portrait really represents the son of Lorenzo, and is by Piero, it must be one of his latest works, for Piero de Lorenzo was not born till 1471, and the face is that of a youth of at least eighteen. The features have the characteristic Medici look and resemble strongly the family portraits in Botticelli's *Adoration of the Magi*.

An attempt has recently been made to ascribe to the hand of Antonio the terra-cotta bust of Charles VIII. in the same room,\* but fine as it is, it has neither the quality nor the character of his work. Like that of Niccolò d'Uzzano ascribed to Donatello, it is one of those mysterious works that suggest the hand of the modern imitator. It has at different times been attributed to Andrea della Robbia and to Verrocchio, attributions as little satisfactory as that to Antonio, and which have convinced no one. It is however artistically of so much importance that any attempt to elucidate the mystery is of interest. The work is certainly Florentine, and seems executed with the intention of casting in bronze. It represents the King

\* See Marcel Reymond's article, "Le Buste de Charles VIII.," "Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques," 1895, p. 242.

exactly as he is described by the Ambassador Zaccharia Contarini in his report to the Venice Republic. "The King of France," he wrote, "is twenty-two years of age small and ill-made in his person, ugly in face, with great white eyes more apt to see evil than good; the aquiline nose also is larger and coarser than it should be; the lips also are large, and he keeps them continually open."

With all its realism the bust is lacking in the essential characteristic of Antonio—energy. The expression is feeble and insipid, and neither weakness nor insipidity were the defects of the King, nor was Antonio the artist to bestow them on his sitters. Had he executed the portrait of this same monkey-like head, with its large features and evil expression, we should have had something very different to this weakly sensual face. Moreover the modelling is not worthy of his science, for it is lacking in subtlety, and the treatment of the eyes and the hair is poor and conventional. With the energetic and exquisitely modelled bust of the Young Warrior before us, it is impossible to accept it as his work. If, as seems possible, it is modern, the only artist capable of so admirable an imitation was Bastianini.

Vasari tells us that Antonio executed several "very beautiful medals," including some of the Popes, but it is probable that he attributed to him those of other artists, for none are in existence. The only medal cited by him—that struck on the occasion of the Pazzi Conspiracy—is not by Antonio, although for years it has passed under his name. This medal, which bears on the obverse the



head of Lorenzo, with the scene of his rescue in S. Maria del Fiore, and on the reverse that of Giuliano, with the scene of his murder, has nothing in common with Antonio's style, and has been conclusively proved to be the work of Bertoldo di Giovanni, the pupil and assistant of Donatello.\*

\* See Bode, "Bertoldo di Giovanni und seine Bronzefigurenwerke" ("Jahrbuch der Kgl. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen," 1895, p. 153).

## CHAPTER XIII

### THE TOMBS OF THE POPES

1484-1498

WE have now reached the epoch in Antonio's life which marks an astonishing change and development in his work. It may be that the wider intellectual atmosphere of Rome stimulated his faculties, the fact remains that in the two superb monuments executed by him there, he touched a higher point than he had hitherto reached, not only in intellectual energy of the conception, but in the perfection of his science and skill. The magnificent figures which surround the Tomb of Sixtus, and the two splendid statues of Innocent, represent the climax of his powers. With them he initiated a new and freer style in sculpture which realised the aims for which Florentine Art had striven since the days of Giotto. It is significant of the strength of his personality that the antique sculpture seen by him in Rome exercised but the most superficial influence upon his work there. His Tombs are the most personal and original of his productions. In the reliefs of the Silver Altar he still adhered somewhat in idea, in composition,

and in detail, to the severe traditions of the Florentine School. In the Tombs of the Popes he breaks uncompromisingly with all tradition, and innovates a licence in the treatment of the human form which opened the way directly towards the splendid creations of Michelangelo in the Sistine Chapel, and indirectly to the *baroque* art of the following century.

Francesco d'Albescola della Rovere, who succeeded Paul II. in the pontificate in 1471, under the name of Sixtus IV., died August 13, 1484, at the age of seventy-one. His successor, Giovanni Battista Cybo—Innocent VIII.—in calling Antonio to Rome to execute his Tomb, was probably influenced by Lorenzo de' Medici. The Tomb of Sixtus was finished, as its date shows, in 1493, but Innocent did not live to see it, dying himself a year earlier. Later his nephew, Cardinal Lorenzo Cybo, commissioned Antonio to execute the second Monument, which is, in much of its detail, only a *replica* of the first. This—his last existing work—was finished only in the year of his death, 1498. Piero, who accompanied him to Rome to aid him in the Monuments, had already died in 1496.

Of the Tombs Vasari writes :

“ Antonio, grown very famous among the artists, was after the death of Sixtus IV. called by Innocent his successor to Rome, where he executed in metal the sepulchre of the said Innocent, in which he portrayed him as alive, seated as when he gave the benediction ; which was placed in S. Pietro ; and that of the said Pope Sixtus,



*Anderson*

TOMB OF SIXTUS IV. BRONZE. BY ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO. S. PIETRO, ROME

*Face p. 190*





*Alinari*

TOMB OF SIXTUS IV. BY ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO. S. PIETRO, ROME

*Face p. 190*



which was finished at great cost,\* and placed in the Chapel called by his name, richly decorated and completely isolated; and upon it lies the said Pope excellently done; and the Tomb of Innocent in S. Pietro is near the Chapel where is the Lance of Christ."†

The Tomb of Sixtus (Plates XLI. and XLII.) is in its original state, but as will be seen, that of Innocent has suffered an essential change. Both have been moved from their original place. That of Sixtus was, as Vasari states, in the Cappella di Sisto, now the Coro dei Canonici, in the left aisle. It was removed between 1609 and 1615, when the Chapel was adapted to its present use, and was temporarily placed in the Sagrestia Vecchia, where it remained till 1635. In that year, under Urban VIII., it was removed to its present position in the Chapel of the Sacrament. M. Reymond is of opinion that in its original state the Tomb was raised on a base of marble, like that of Martin V. by Simone Ghini. The higher elevation would certainly add to its effect and it seems in fact to demand it.

The statue of the Pope in tiara and full pontificals lies stretched out simply on the slab—a bed of state it has been called. The head is supported on cushions embroidered with the Rovere arms, the hands and feet rest naturally, the eyes are solemnly closed, and around this austere figure writhe and gesticulate in every variety of twisted posture, sixteen nude females. Nude to all intents they are; for the crumpled draperies, which

\* For the Tomb of Sixtus Antonio received 5000 gold ducats.

† Vasari, iii. p. 295.



cover part of their bodies and limbs, are as transparent as gauze—a *tour de force* of diaphanous texture manipulated in metal.

As portraiture the head has less character than might have been expected, given the energy of both sculptor and Pope (Plate XLIII.). Pride and overbearance were his salient qualities, whereas these features express chiefly benevolence. The painting by Melozzo da Forlì in the Vatican gives a better idea of his temperament. This is due no doubt to the statue having been executed from already existing portraits and not from life. But the modelling of the face is faultless, on broader lines and more plastically treated than any work we have yet seen. The goldsmith betrays himself in the elaborate and carefully wrought tiara and vestments, but the face has the breadth of the sculptor in marble.

The slab on which the body is laid is covered with elaborate brocade, and rests on a base on which are represented the Seven Virtues, while round the sides recline the Arts and Sciences, all the figures in highest relief.

The Inscription at the foot runs as follows :

SIXTO QVAR PONT MAX EX ORDINI MINORVM DOCTRINA  
ET ANIMI MAGNITVDINE OMNIS MEMORIÆ PRINCIPI  
TVRCIS ITALIA SVMMOTIS AVCTORITATE SEDIS AVCTA  
VRBE INSTAVRATA TEMPLIS PONTEFORO VIIS BIBLIO  
THECA IN VATICANO PVBLICATA IVBILEO CELEBRATO  
LIGVRIA SERVITVTE LIBERATA CVM MODICE AC PLANO



*Anderson*

SIXTUS IV. FROM THE TOMB BY ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO  
S. PIETRO, ROME

*Face p. 192*



# THE TOMBS OF THE POPES 193

SOLO CON DI NE MANDAVISSET  
 IVLIANVS CARDINALIS PATRVO B . M . MAIORE PIETATE  
 QVAM IMPENSA F . CVR  
 OBIT I DIB . SEXTIL . HORA AB OCCASV QVINTA AN  
 CHR MCDLXXXIIIJ  
 VIXIT ANNOS LXX DIES XXII HORAS XIJ.

On either side of this inscription are the Rovere Arms—the oak tree—surmounted by the Cardinal's hat. On the raised slab behind the head of the statue is Antonio's signature and the date:

OPVS . ANTONI . POLAIOLI  
 FLORENTINI . ARG . AVRO  
 PICT . AERE . CLARI  
 AN . DO . MCCCCLXXXIIIJ.

In the compartment below this inscription reclines the Charity, recalling in her attitude the Ariadne of the Vatican. She rests one elbow on a low stool, and gazes down on a child at her breast. Another plays against her knee. In one hand she holds the horn of plenty, curved like a graceful lily, and in the other the symbolic flaming heart. No conception could be more different to the conventionally treated relief of the Silver Cross than this romantic semi-classic figure. Nothing but the symbols indicate that she is a Virtue, and she appears rather some water-nymph reclining by her stream. The legs are crossed at the ankles, in the peculiar position which occurs so often in Antonio's works, which resembles the Ariadne of the Vatican. Indeed the figure might have been copied from some Roman statue. The limbs, and especially the hands

and feet are exquisite, of a beauty and delicacy of shape and modelling surpassing all his previous work. Antonio, who had hitherto rather ignored the female nude, and had devoted his genius to the interpretation of physical force, seems in these last works to have become aware of the charm and beauty of the female form, and certainly no other sculptor has combined so exquisitely its possibilities of grace and strength.

On either side of the recumbent statue of the Pope, in sharp contrast to the repose of the dead face, are two of the most vivacious figures ever placed by a *quattrocento* sculptor on a tomb. The attitudes and gestures are as mannered and voluptuous as though they were pirouetting in a ballet. They are conceived in a spirit almost of flippancy which Antonio surely would not have permitted himself had he been working for the sober Florentines. The Faith gazes up, and waves her cup with the air of a Bacchante, and the Hope is little less boisterous. The climax of movement is in these figures, for those immediately below—the Prudence and Temperance—are less excited, while the Fortitude and Justice on either side of the feet of the statue are comparatively tranquil. The mannered treatment of the draperies, crumpled into a thousand pleats, accentuates the restlessness of movement, yet the multiplicity of folds in no way hides, but rather emphasises, the beautiful modelling of the limbs. If the lack of simplicity may be regretted from the artistic standpoint, one can have nothing but admiration for the science and skill with which the figures are

executed. Antonio, at this point of his development plays with the human form with the facility of one for whom its construction and movements have no mystery. He twists the supple limbs into the strangest postures with a science that makes them appear natural and easy.

The ten figures representing the Arts and Sciences are in much higher relief than the foregoing, some of the limbs being quite free. They are equally mannered in posture, equally voluptuous in idea, and several are nearly as vehement in gesture. Each has a *cartello* bearing the name, and an open book on which is inscribed some text from the Bible or Classics. Three are almost completely naked, while the rest are so diaphanously draped that no curve of the body is concealed, and perhaps never has the female nude been at once so exquisitely and so scientifically modelled. The chiselled and polished limbs and the finely formed hands and feet are of unequalled beauty.

At the head of the Tomb are Philosophy and Theology, at the foot Rhetoric and Grammar; to the right Geometry, Music and Perspective, to the left Arithmetic, Astrology and Dialectics.

Philosophy is represented by a young woman, seated on a low carved stool, immersed in study. On one dainty hand she leans her head, the other holds the book in which she reads. By her side is a desk with another book, on whose pages her motto is inscribed.\*

\* It may be of interest to transcribe these mottoes. That of Philosophy is: "Intelligere quidem et scire contingit circa omnes scientias quarum sunt principia et causæ aut elementa."

Theology by her side, is one of the most beautiful of the series (Plate XLIV.) She lies grasping a bow, her quiver slung over her shoulder, shading her eyes from the Trinity, symbolised by a sun with three faces. A gay little angel holds the Bible open before her.\* It is a strange conception of the theme and in keeping with the pagan character of the Monument, for this voluptuous nymph might more fitly represent Diana, struck down by her love for Endymion, than so serious a study as Theology.

Geometry is seated in much the same attitude as Philosophy, bent over her task with her head twisted away from her legs. She works out a problem with her compasses from a book open before her.† On the bench is carved an apparently irrelevant scene—a sea-god bearing off a naked nymph on his back—which recalls the paintings of the Hercules series.

Music is seated at a small organ which is decorated with the Rovere stemma. A winged *putto* blows the bellows. She is very animated and the fluttering ribbons add to the impression of restlessness.‡

\* The motto of Theology: "In principio creavit Deus cœlum et terram, terra autem erat inanis et vacua, et tenebræ erant superfaciem abyssi. In principio erat verbum et verbum erat apud Deum et Deus erat verbum."

† "Dato angulo dato circulo equum angulum capientem portionem abscindere. A dato puncto ad datum circulum liniam contingente descendere. Corporum isoperimetrorum capacissimum est sphœrium. Corpus est quod habet longitudinem, latitudinem et profunditatem."

‡ The motto of Music: "Varia Musicorum, Instrumentorum genera exculpta habebat."



*Mascioni, Rome*

THEOLOGY. FROM THE TOMB OF SIXTUS IV. BY ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO. S. PIETRO, ROME

*Face p. 196*







*Mosconi, Rome*

PERSPECTIVE. FROM THE TOMB OF SIXTUS IV. BY ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO. S. PIETRO, ROME

*Face p. 196*



By her side, is Perspective (Plate XLV.), one of the most beautiful figures of the series. It has the interest of being the first time Perspective had been included in artistic representation among the Arts and Sciences. She holds in one hand an astrolabe, and bears over her arm the Rovere *stemma*, as being under the special protection of the Pope. This honour is accorded only to three of the figures, the other two being Rhetoric and Dialectics, doubtless in tribute to his powers of oratory. To these three Antonio seems to have given extra care for they are the most beautiful in attitude and in form. Perspective is more classic and simple in pose and gesture than the other figures, and the outstretched leg and foot are of a beauty remarkable even among these exquisitely modelled limbs.\*

Arithmetic on the other side of the Tomb has on her face the expression, wonderfully well presented, of one who calculates. She bends over her tablets, absorbed in

\* Her motto has a special interest as being quoted from the "Perspectiva Communis" published by John Peckham, in the very year of the completion of the Tomb. It runs: "Sine luce nihil vedetur. Visio fit per lineas radios as recte super oculum innitentes. Radius lucis in rectum semper porrigitur, nisi curvetur diversitate medii. Incidentiæ et reflectionis anguli sunt æquales." The original words of Peckham are as follows: "prop. L: "Sine luce nihil videri." I. prop. XXVIII: "visionem fieri per lineas radios as recte super oculum et initentes," I. prop. XV. "radius lucis primarie similiter et coloris in rectum porrigitur. nisi diversitate medii incurvetur." II. paro (prop.) VI. . . . angulos incidentie et reflectionis æquales esso." This interesting discovery was published by C. Joseph Kern in his "Grundzüge der Linear Perspektivischen Darstellung in der Kunst der Gebrüder Van Eyck," Leipzig, 1904, vol. i. p. 35.

the problem before her.\* Next to her is Astrology, an inspired figure gazing upwards, one of the simplest in pose and the most severe of the series.† Dialectics again is less mannered and of great beauty (Plate XLVI.). Like Perspective, she bears the Rovere oak branch, and with the other hand holds the symbolic scorpion.‡

At the foot of the Tomb are two nude figures, Rhetoric and Grammar reclining back to back with their feet crossed. Rhetoric (Plate XLVII.) holds the Rovere oak branch; § her body and legs repeat almost exactly those of Grammar in a reversed position. Notwithstanding the restlessness of the figures and draperies, the exceedingly high relief, and the goldsmith's minuteness of detail, the general effect of the Monument is grand and severe. Technically as well as artistically

\* "*Numerorum seriem in infinitum procedere. Numerus est multitudo ex unitate composita.*"

† The motto of Astrology: "*Qui ad rem aliquam aptus est, habebit omnino stellam eius rei significatricem in nativitate sua potentam. Animus qui ad intelligentiam rerum aptus est, magis assequitur veritatem, quam qui ad summum se in scientia exercint. Amor et odium accipiuntur ex convenientia tum luminarium tum etiam ascendentiæ utriusque nativitatis; signa verò quæ obcedentia dicuntur, intendunt amicitiam. Animus sapiens cœlesti pote statim cooperatur, sicut optimus quoq' agricola in undando arandoq' naturæ ipsius agrî cooperatur.*"

‡ The motto of Dialectics: "*Ars artium et scientia scientiarum ego sum, in omnibus doctrinis principia pono, quia ratiocinandi doceo modum, ideoque verum et falsum unicuique eligio.*"

§ The motto of Rhetoric: "*Aperta et ampla oratione ex qualibet disciplina pro tempore assumo, apte dico, persuadeo et dissuadeo.*" Of Grammar: "*Diversorium idiomatum homines doceo, ut uno duntaxat idiomate omnes loquantur.*"



*Masconi, Rome*  
 DIALECTICS. FROM THE TOMB OF SIXTUS IV. BY ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO. S. PIETRO, ROME.  
*Fig. 4. v. 10*





*Moscioni, Rome*

RHETORIC. FROM THE TOMB OF SIXTUS IV. BY ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO. S. PIETRO, ROME

*Face p. 198*





it is the Masterpiece of Antonio, all metal workers agreeing that it is one of the most superb examples of casting and chiselling in existence.

With all its originality and beauty the Tomb of Innocent VIII. cannot be compared to that of Sixtus. It is its echo only, and, as will be seen, much of the detail is merely assistant's copy from it. Only the two noble portrait statues show the same grandeur of conception and power of execution, and these are as superior to that of Sixtus, as are the reliefs that surround his Tomb to those on the Monument of Innocent. In the Tomb of Sixtus the wealth of detail throws the figure somewhat in the shade. In that of Innocent the statues dominate.

It is probable that it was begun soon after the completion of the other. Innocent was struck by apoplexy in 1491, and died the following year, never having recovered his faculties. He thus did not live to see the Tomb of his predecessor. At his death his nephew, Cardinal Lorenzo Cybo, commissioned Antonio to execute the Monument, which was originally placed, as described by Vasari, near the Chapel of the Sacred Lance. This Chapel, dedicated to the Virgin and S. Gabiniano, was erected by Gregory III. at the end of the chief nave of the old Basilica Constantina, and above the Altar, Cardinal Cybo, in 1495, caused a Tabernacle to be constructed for the relic according to the wishes of his uncle. The acquisition of this Lance—or rather Lance-head—was, as is well known, the chief glory of Innocent's pontificate. It was presented

to him by the Sultan Bajazet as part payment for his custody of Prince Djem, the rightful heir to the Turkish throne. The statue of Antonio holds the Lance-head, a faithful portrait of the relic, and was intended to guard over the Tabernacle wherein the treasure was deposited. Altar, Tabernacle, and Tomb were however removed from their original place in 1507, when the old Basilica was demolished, and were placed temporarily in the nave of the Volto Santo, where they remained until the completion of the new building in 1621. The relic was then placed in one of the four *Loggie* of the dome, where it still remains, and the Monument of Innocent was removed to its present position near the Cappella del Coro. It has been altered from the original plan, the recumbent figure, which used to rest on the projecting bracket over the seated statue, having been placed below it, while the whole of the surrounding marble work was added. In the Collection of Herr von Beckerath, Berlin, is a pen-drawing of the seventeenth century, showing the Tomb in its original state, probably sketched just before the alteration.

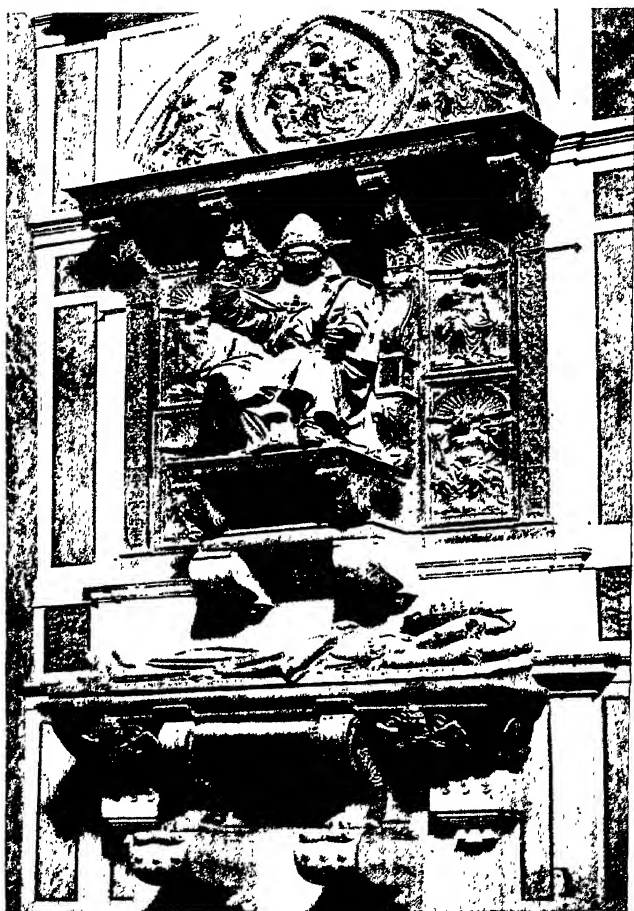
The Pope is seated in full pontificals, one hand raised high in the papal benediction, the other grasping the head of the Lance. Below are inscribed the following words :

INNOCENTIVS VIII CIBO

IANVENSIS . PONT . OPT . MAX

VIXIT . ANNOS VII . ME . X . DI . XXV

OBIIT . AN . DNI . MCDIHC . M . IVLII



*Anderson, Rome*

TOMB OF INNOCENT VIII. BRONZE. BY ANTONIO  
POLLAIUOLO. S. PIETRO, ROME

*Face p. 200*



## THE TOMBS OF THE POPES 201

On either side, enthroned in niches, are the four theological Virtues, and above, beneath the heavy bracket where once lay the recumbent figure, are the *stemmi* of the Pope and Cardinal Lorenzo. In the lunette over are the three Cardinal Virtues, Charity in a mandorla supported by Faith and Hope.

Below lies the statue of the dead Pope, on a bronze sarcophagus decorated with the Cybo *stemma* and the Papal arms. On it is inscribed :

IN INNOCENTIA  
MEA INGRESSVS SVM  
REDIME ME DOMINE  
ET MISERERE ME.

Here the original work of Antonio ends. The framework of coloured marbles, the surmounting *stemmi* and urns, the marble brackets which support the throne, and the long inscription, date from the seventeenth century.\*

\* The later inscription is as follows :

D . O . M  
INNOCENTIO . VIII . CYBO . PONT . MAX  
ITALICAE . PACIS . PERPETVO . CVSTODI  
NOVI . ORBIS . SVO . AEVO . INVENTI . GLORIA  
REGI . HISPANIARVM . CATHOLICI . NOMINE . IMPOSITO  
CRVCIS . SACRO . SSANCTAE . REPERTO . TITVLO  
LANCIA . QVAE . CHRISTI . HAVSIT . LATVS  
A . BAIAZETTE . TVRCARVM . TYRANNO . DONO . MISSA  
AETERNVM . INSIGNI  
MONVMENTVM . E . VETERE . BASILICA . HVC . TRANSLATVM  
ALBERICVS . CYBO . MALASPINA  
PRINCEPS . MASSAE  
FERENTILLI . DVX . MARCHIO . CARRARIAE . ET . C  
PRONEPOS  
ORNATVS . AVGVSTIVSQ . POSVIT . ANNO . DOM . MDCXXI

The statues seem to be, one a very realistic study from life (Plate XLIX.), the other modelled on a death-mask (Plate L.) Their superiority to that of Sixtus is probably due to the close acquaintance Antonio must have had with the features of Innocent during his residence in Rome. The character of the Pope was genial and good-natured, but he is reproached for avarice and lack of decision. All these qualities are to be read in the expressive faces. The weakness of character, accentuated by Peretta Usodimare in the receding forehead and chin and feeble mouth of his medal, struck in 1484, is suggested only with the utmost subtlety by Antonio, while full justice is done to the noble bearing and imposing presence for which he was celebrated.

The statues are treated with greater freedom than that of Sixtus, and less emphasis is laid on the ornaments of the robes. The free pose, the declamatory gesture, and the multiplicity of folds in the draperies, give to the seated figure a somewhat *baroque* air, which certainly was not without effect on the sculptors of the following century.

The contrast between the living and the dead figures is sharply emphasised. The former, with its animated, sweeping gesture seems the incarnation of energy and power. The hand seems raised, not in benediction, but in imperious, almost menacing, command. Below, the corpse lies inert and powerless, the fires of life burnt out, leaving only great dignity and solemnity of expression. It must certainly have been executed from a death-mask. The peaked nose, the skin strained over the bones, the



*Moscioni, Rome*

INNOCENT VIII. FROM THE TOMB. BY ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO  
S. PIETRO, ROME

*Face p. 202*







*Altinari*

INNOCENT VIII. FROM THE TOMB BY ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO. S. PIETRO, ROME

*Face p. 202*



hollowed eyes, show every sign of having been moulded on the corpse itself.

The four Virtues on either side of the seated statue are but varied copies of those on the Tomb of Sixtus. The same designs have served for both, with a few slight changes in the inclination of the heads and arms, and in the folds of the draperies. The execution has evidently been left to assistants, for the figures have less energy, the draperies are coarser, and the modelling of the nude parts is not so delicate. The exquisite chiselling and polish of the others also is lacking in these replicas.

The three Virtues above in the lunette must also have been left chiefly to assistants, for in execution they are unworthy of Antonio's own hand. The design is bold and original, and as far as is known to me it is the first time the subject has been so treated—the Charity surrounded by the mandorla, whom Faith and Hope serve as attendant angels. It will be remarked that these figures are also but varied repetitions of those on the Tomb of Sixtus, the Charity of the Justice, the Faith and Hope of the same Virtues.\*

The remains of the Pope were placed in the Sarcophagus, Jan. 30 1498, as is noted by Burchard in his Diary. An interesting account of the ceremony is in existence, written by an anonymous eye-witness.† He relates that the body was, at the hour of Vespers, taken out of the coffin, and was found to be almost

\* For the Tomb of Innocent Antonio received 4000 ducats.

† The MSS. is preserved in the Vatican Library. For the original words see Doc. XXII. p. 281).

uninjured and still wearing the pontifical robes. It was wrapped freshly in a robe of violet taffeta and placed in the bronze Sarcophagus.

The account of its disinterment on the occasion of the removal of the Tomb more than a hundred years later, written by the archæologist Jacopo Grimaldi is worth transcribing.

“On the 5th of September, 1606, at the 14th hour, the illustrious and most reverend Cardinals of the new Temple of our Holy Lord—desirous that in demolishing the said Basilica, the bones of the High Pontiffs, the relics, and other objects worthy of notice, should be carefully walled up—deputed that the Rev. Canons Dario Buccario and Aloiso and the Lord Niccolò Amato, should have the charge of this, without whom the masons were forbidden to open the Tombs, which were in the vaults in the midst of the Basilica and along its sides. Wherefore, the same Rev. Alloysio being present, was opened the urn or coffin of bronze in the Tomb of the Pope Innocent VIII. in the nave of the Holy Sudario; and the body of the said Innocent was inspected, and was found to be entire, but corrupted: and it was wrapped in a red robe of satin, and was clad in its precious pontifical vestments of gold, embroidered with gold fringe and set with pearls. The body was of great stature. Within the coffin, at the feet of the Pope, was found a bronze coin, stamped with the image of the said Innocent as he was when alive, clad in a pluvial, surrounded by the inscription *Innocentius Januensis VIII. Pont. Max.* On the reverse three female figures with the words *Justitia. Pax. Copia.* The Sarcophagus was then closed, and was replaced in the new

Temple, in the Chapel of S. Gregory, near the Tomb of Clement VIII." \*

Torrigio, in his "Sacre Grotte Vaticane," published in 1635, gives an account of the opening of the Tomb which differs little from that of Grimaldi, and adds a description of the later disinterment of 1621, when the Monument was transferred to its present position.

"On the 10th of September the said Sepulchre was again opened—the Cardinal Ottavio Bandini being present—(and other coins of silver and bronze were found) having been placed against the recess where now is the sepulchre of Paul III. at the top of the Basilica, whence it was removed and placed where it may now be seen, with the Epitaph in gold letters, with the arms of the Pope himself and of the Grand Duke.

In connection with the Tomb of Innocent must be mentioned a series of designs in the Uffizi, there attributed to Antonio, and generally supposed to be his original studies for the Monument. They are in pen washed with sepia, and represent a seated Pope, the Virtues Prudence, Fortitude, and Justice, and three Saints—James, Andrew, and Peter. (Cornice 34, Nos. 261—266 and 276.) The presence of the Saints has suggested to some critics the idea that Antonio's Monument originally included such figures, and that they were removed at the alteration of the seventeenth century. The drawings are however not by Antonio, nor even of his epoch. The sheet with the Pope is signed with his

\* For the original words, see Doc. XXII. (2) p. 281.

name, but the handwriting does not resemble his. The figure has but the most superficial likeness to that of Innocent. The features and every detail of the dress are different, and the lance-head is omitted. The Virtues, while obviously imitated from those of Antonio, differ in essential points, chiefly that they are nude to the thighs. The drawings are free imitations of details of the Tomb, apparently copied with the intention of adapting them to a Monument of later date, and are the work of some very mediocre artist of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, who presumably had not enough originality to create a new design.

Before closing this chapter on Antonio's work in Rome it may be as well to add that the Bronze Doors of the Tabernacle which enshrines the chains of S. Peter, under the High Altar of S. Pietro in Vincoli, which are sometimes attributed to him, are not by his hand. The date is inscribed on a tablet—1477—at which time he was still in Florence. Moreover the work bears not the slightest resemblance to his style.

## CHAPTER XIV

### DRAWINGS NOT ALREADY MENTIONED

MOST of the important drawings by Antonio have been already noticed with reference to the works for which they were designed, but there remain two, not hitherto mentioned, of the greatest importance and beauty, and several others of minor value.

It was Mr. Berenson who first drew attention in his "Florentine Drawings" to a ruined pen and sepia drawing in the Uffizi representing S. Jerome in penitence.\* The sheet is so ruined from damp and careless handling that careful study is necessary before the half-effaced lines detach themselves from the stains of the corroded paper. At first glance only the head of the Saint is visible, having been inked over in later times, but after close inspection a composition of great beauty in Antonio's most characteristic manner is revealed. It is an elaborate drawing pricked for transfer, probably the cartoon for some highly-finished painting.

The Saint kneels in the foreground before a large

\* Berenson "Florentine Drawings," i, p. 30. The drawing is not exposed. The sheet measures 37 centimetres by 53.



Crucifix, and gazes up at the figure whose back is turned towards us. His lips are parted and his expression is fervent and concentrated. At his feet is a pile of books, of which one is open, and at the foot of the Cross are a skull and crossbones with the Cardinal's hat. To the extreme right a lion is devouring a lioness, and behind stretches a spacious landscape composed in Antonio's usual style. To the left are sharp rocks and beyond in the distance three hounds dart swiftly, and behind these again is a group of eight horsemen. To the right is a port opening to the sea, in which float four large war-ships, and on the farther coast is a battlemented tower and a large fortress. In the middle distance a stream winds in serpent-like curves towards the sea, and on the brink a deer drinks, while another bounds beyond. The foreground figure stands out prominently against this landscape, which retains, even in its dilapidated condition, the values of distance. The lines, where they have escaped the corrosion of ink and paper, are of great delicacy, the action of the beasts is energetic, and the drawing of them admirably true to nature. The drinking deer resembles strikingly that in the *Combat with Antæus*.

Some clue may be obtained as to the painting for which this was designed through an engraving which is obviously copied from it, to which Mr. Berenson first drew attention. In the 2nd edition of "Pisa Illustrata," published in 1812 by Alessandro da Morrona, this engraving is reproduced, and corresponds in almost

every detail with the drawing. The only difference is that the figure on the Cross is turned towards instead of away from us. As an engraving it is exceedingly poor, being timidly executed with a weakness of line which points to its being the work of an inexperienced hand. Morrona, to whom the original plate belonged, had no idea that it was connected with Antonio, his interest in publishing it being, that he considered it to be done from a lost painting originally over the Altar of S. Girolamo in the Cappella Maggiore in the Campo Santo. The Altarpiece had been replaced in 1595 by the existing painting by Aurelio Lomi. He inscribed the reproduction "L' Antico S. Girolamo del Campo Santo, Rame del Secolo XV." His reason for identifying it with the lost Altarpiece, besides the fact that it represents S. Jerome, is that he considers the port and fortress to be those of Pisa at the mouth of the Arno.\*

That the engraving was copied from a painting by Antonio, for which the Uffizi drawing served as the cartoon, seems undeniable, and the combination of S. Jerome and the Port of Pisa, warrants the suggestion that it was executed for the Altar dedicated to that Saint in the Campo Santo. Moreover the fighting lions, which take so prominent a place in the composition, would be explained as symbolic of the subjugation of

\* The present whereabouts of the plate is unknown, but impressions precisely similar to the reproduction in "Pisa Illustrata" are in the Albertina Collection, the British Museum, and the Munich Print Room. The latter, however, is modern.

Pisa—the lioness—by Florence—the lion. In all other representations of S. Jerome known to me the lion is tranquil, either lying asleep or peaceably pacing. To depart so far from the traditional treatment as to make the tame beast devouring another, implies some special motive.

To sum up. Seeing that the drawing in the Uffizi is pricked for transfer, that it represents S. Jerome, with a background which may well be the Port of Pisa, and that a painting of that subject is known to have existed in the Chapel of the Campo Santo before the sixteenth century, it seems reasonable to suppose that it served as the cartoon for part of the lost Altarpiece. Its dimensions preclude the idea that it was the Altarpiece itself, but it may well have been a predella scene. That the painting was popular the existence of the engraving proves. It would be of interest to discover whether it has really perished, or whether it is lying hidden away in the neighbourhood.

In the Collection of drawings at Chantilly is the head of a Saint in black chalk attributed by Mr. Berenson to Antonio. It was described by Morelli as being probably a copy of some work by Mantegna, and at first glance something in the hard angular lines recalls the Paduan School. The face bears some resemblance, in the expression of pain in the eyes and parted lips, to that of S. Jerome in the ruined drawing of the Uffizi. It is pricked for transfer and may have served for some larger painting of the same subject, possibly of the Altarpiece to which the drawing was a predella-scene.

Of equal importance is the pen and sepia study for the equestrian statue of Francesco Sforza in the Munich Print Room (Plate LI.). It belonged to Vasari, who thus writes of it :

“ After Antonio’s death were found the drawing and model which he had made for Lodovico Sforza, Duke of Milan ; the which drawing is in our book in two designs in one he has Verona beneath him, in the other, completely armed, upon a pedestal covered with battle-scenes, he makes his horse career over the body of a warrior : the reason why he never executed these designs I have not yet been able to learn.”\*

It seems to be the last of these drawings, lacking however the carved pedestal, which is now in the Munich Print Room.

Galeazzo Sforza decided to raise an equestrian statue to his father Francesco, but was prevented by his assassination in 1476, and the plan was put in execution by Lodovico. Lodovico assumed the government of Milan in 1480, and it was probably soon after that he announced a competition for the work, for which Leonardo, as is well known, gained the commission. Leonardo’s numerous studies for the statue are in existence, and in the earlier drawings the horse careers over the vanquished warrior as in Antonio’s sketch, from which it may be assumed that it was so planned in the commission. In one of them, now in the Windsor Collection, the figures of both horse and rider have the

\* Vasari, iii. p. 297.

strongest resemblance to Antonio's, although the vanquished knight is replaced by the trunk of a tree. The rider, standing stiffly upright in his stirrups, the arm outstretched with the bâton of command, as well as the details of the armour, are precisely similar. In his later designs Leonardo changed the rearing horse to one pacing tranquilly, possibly influenced by the success of the Colleoni statue, which had meantime been completed.\* Antonio's drawing was supposed to be one of the many designs of Leonardo, until Morelli ascribed it to its true author.† It is treated in the same decorative manner as the "Prisoner before the Judge" and the Wilton House nudes, the figure being relieved against a dark background of sepia wash. The horse is inferior in energy to the rider, whose gesture is superb. As a portrait it is excellent, if one may judge by its resemblance to the medal by Pisanello struck in 1441. There is strong reminiscence of Castagno's Tolentino in the general conception and the attitude of the rider, but in build the horse recalls rather those of Paolo Uccello. In effect the group is noble and majestic, but it is easy to see that Antonio had studied equine less than human anatomy. The hind quarters are poorly constructed, and the legs too short, while the action is spiritless and even clumsy. The finest

\* Leonardo began the statue and put it aside for some years. He recommenced it in 1490, as we learn from his own words, "A dì 23 d'aprile 1490 . . . ricominciai il Cavallo" (see Richter, "Leonardo da Vinci," ii. p. 14.) The statue was never cast and the model was destroyed by the French in 1500.

† Morelli, "Italian Painters," ii. p. 116.



*Bruckmann, Munich*

STUDY FOR EQUESTRIAN STATUE TO FRANCESCO SFORZA. DRAWING  
BY ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO. MUNICH PRINT ROOM

*Face p. 212*



part is the head, which somewhat resembles the colossal antique bronze, formerly in the Medici Collection, now in the Museo Archeologico, Florence, a work which influenced both Donatello and Verrocchio in their equestrian statues. The drawing is in bad condition, the sheet being much torn, but the pen-strokes still retain their original delicacy and energy.

In the Collection of Lord Pembroke, Wilton House, is a pen-study of a horse, which may possibly have some connection with the Sforza Monument. It is a mere outline in profile, with indications for measurements and proportions in Antonio's own handwriting. In the Collection it is given to Verrocchio, and its attribution to Antonio is due to Mr. Berenson. The correctness of this attribution is proved, not only by the handwriting, but by the characteristic quality of the line, sensitive yet firm, with that flame-like touch which is so close to that of Leonardo. The horse is not careering as in the Munich drawing, the two legs which only are indicated, are in the tranquilly pacing position of the Gattamelata and Colleoni statues. It is more likely that it was designed for some other monument, for we know from his letter to Orsini that Antonio planned at least one other, though he seems never to have put it in execution.

Besides these there are other drawings by Antonio's own hand worthy of special attention. The best are the two pen-studies of the Baptist in the Uffizi. The first (Cornice 31, No. 357) is washed with sepia. It is badly damaged, the ink and paper being corroded and



stained. It represents the Baptist, dejectedly leaning his head on his hand and pointing to a skull. The face, with its parted lips, between which one sees the set teeth, is of the Hercules type, almost exactly similar to the slain soldier who lies to the right in the engraving of the "Ten Nudes." The other (Cornice 29, No. 699) is less fine, but the characteristic touch makes its authorship beyond question.\* It is a rapid sketch of the Baptist, again with an expression of suffering, leaning against a rock, with one hand pressed to his heart. It offers evidence of the care given by Antonio to the construction of his figures, for each bone in the hands and legs is inserted, and apparently dissatisfied, he has drawn the hands again several times on the sheet. One of these—in chalk, on a larger scale than the rest—is a superb anatomical study. Below are some words written in his own hand. "S. Giovannj." "S. Saverstro di Jachopo." Apparently notes jotted down on the sheet, the name being perhaps that of the commissioner for whom the work was to be executed.

Of importance also are three sheets of drawings, two in the Uffizi, one in the Albertina, which evidently belong to the same composition—studies for an *Adoration of the Magi*. Of those in the Uffizi one represents the old King attended by a negro page (Cornice 34, No. 369). He is prostrate, in a curious, rather animal-like posture, while the boy holds up his mantle. The action of this latter figure is superb.

\* It was formerly unaccountably attributed to Giorgione.

The sheet is signed "Antonio Pollaiuolo" in his own handwriting. The second (not exposed. Cat. II., No. 2299) represents a young King in profile, who stands holding a goblet, with three men behind him engaged in conversation. The third—that in the Albertina—seems a fragment of the same group. Two men wearing high Greek hats stand conversing. It was formerly attributed to Lazzaro Vasari, and later, by Professor Wickhoff in his Catalogue of the Collection, to Andrea dal Castagno. The attribution to Antonio is due to Mr. Berenson, who thus writes of it:

"The vehemence of the pose and action and the determined look, do indeed vividly recall Castagno, nevertheless the figures have a keenness and refinement which surpass that master, while the well-hung draperies, the large modelling, the sure and firm penstroke and the very pictorial use of the wash, point unmistakably to Antonio Pollaiuolo. Note the resemblance of the face to that of the Hercules in the little Uffizi picture." \*

These remarks apply equally to the two drawings of the Uffizi. As with the cartoon of S. Jerome we must regret here also the loss of some fine predella picture.

Lastly, among the genuine drawings by Antonio, we have the exceedingly fine design in pen and sepia for a Turibulum or Censer, in the Uffizi (Cornice 29, No. 942). On the back of the sheet is another design for the Navicella. Both are signed by his own hand "Antonio del Polajuolo Horafo." The Turibulum has

\* "Florentine Drawings," i. p. 17.

much in common with the Reliquary of the Silver Cross, two storeys of small openings in imitation of Renaissance windows, separated by Gothic pinnacles. It is surmounted by acanthus leaves ending in a flame-like point. The drawing is free and energetic, and has the interest of a finished picture rather than of a mere goldsmith's design.

Of the numerous drawings in Antonio's manner attributed to him, the following are the most important. In the Uffizi a small pen-sketch of an angel giving gold to beggars (Cornice 29, No. 278), which seems to be a copy from some original by his own hand, though the dull mechanical stroke betrays the imitator. It appears to be a fragment of a larger group, for parts of the draperies of another figure are seen. It represents an angel standing on a platform with a sack of money. Out of a vessel he pours coins into the hands of a beggar who carries a child on his shoulders. Two others stand by, and a second angel seems to be removing a barrier to give access to the platform.

In the same Collection are two fine pen-drawings washed with sepia, attributed to Antonio. On one sheet (Cornice 34, No. 275) is a youth clad in tight fitting doublet and hose, who gazes up beseechingly. On the other (Cornice 30, No. 370), are two studies of the same youth in the same costume, one pensively reclining, his head on his hand, and the other seated. The first is signed "Antonio" in handwriting which resembles his genuine signature. The line is firm and delicate, the drawing and modelling are admirable, yet

neither the figures nor the pen-stroke have the qualities of his work.

It is perhaps hardly necessary to discuss the authenticity of the large drawing of two fighting centaurs in the Kunsthalle, Hamburg, there attributed to Antonio. The lines are feeble and mechanical, the drawing poor and incorrect, the hands being especially bad. The subject only can be the reason of the attribution.

The pen drawing of Dante in the Collection of Christ Church, Oxford, has much in common with the style of Antonio, although it is not by his own hand. It has, however, a special interest in its connection with the painting by Domenico di Michelino in the Duomo, Florence, which it resembles exactly. The commission was given to Domenico in 1465 to paint "a figure in the guise of the poet Dante, according to a model furnished by Alesso Baldovinetti." \* To the single figure ordered, Domenico added at his own fancy, the surroundings—the group of Florentine Buildings and the illustrations to the "Divina Commedia"—and for these additions he received extra payment. The Oxford drawing is more in the style of Antonio than of Baldovinetti. It is possible that it may be a copy of the model mentioned in the document, which must have been executed by some one strongly influenced by Antonio.

\* "1465, 30 Gennaio, Allogherono a Domenico di Michelino dipintore . . . una figura in forma e ghuisa del poeta Dante, la quale debbe fare dipinta et colorita di buoni colori a oro mescolato coli ornamenti come apare per modello dato per Alexo Baldovinetti dipintore." See Gaye, "Cart. Ined." II. V.

We have notice that Antonio gave to a certain Francesco del Lavacchio, jeweller in his employ, a book of designs, presumably for goldsmith's work, which came later into the possession of the Alessandrini family of Florence. According to Milanese this book of drawings passed from the Alessandrini to the Marzimedici, in whose possession it was seen by the antiquary Dei in 1756.\* Migliore records that on the fly-leaf were inscribed the following words, "Antonio di Jacopo del Pollaiuolo, goldsmith, and Madonna Tommasa his mother, gave a book of designs by the hand of the said Antonio to Francesco di Antonio del Lavacchio, jeweller, when he was employed as shop-boy by the said Antonio."† The present whereabouts of the book is unknown to me.

Of drawings by Piero, the only one that can be attributed to him with any certainty is the head of Faith, already mentioned, but it is probable that the studies of nude old men in the Uffizi, one in the act of drawing a bow and one reclining, are by his hand (Cornice 42, No. 248, and 43, No. 100). Mr. Berenson gives to him also the study of a horse in silver point (Cornice 48, No. 7630). On the same sheet the head of the same bald old man is sketched.

\* Vasari, iii. p. 287.

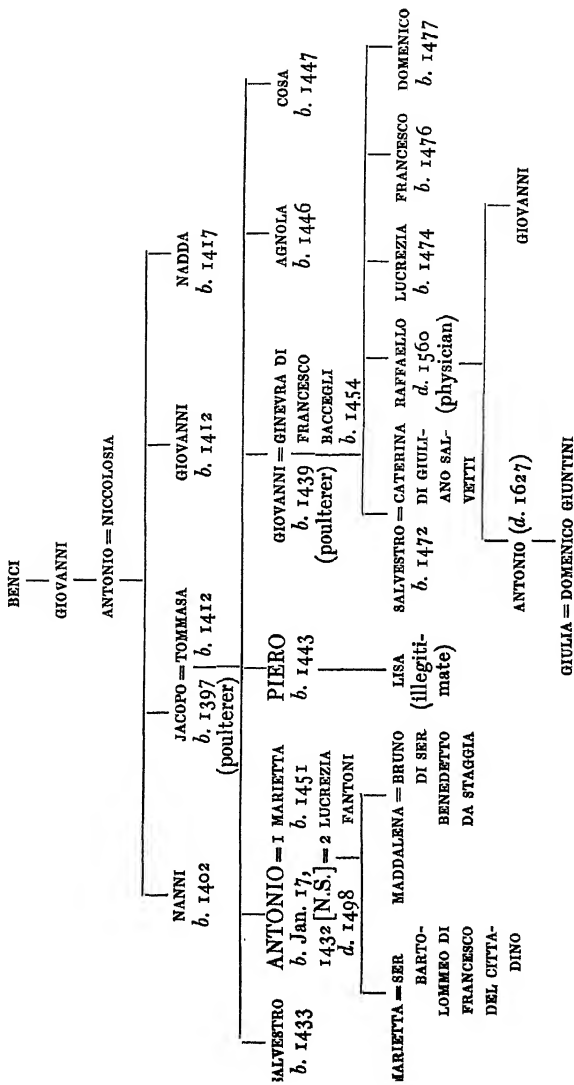
† Del Migliore, Zibaldone, XXV. 392, c. 184, "Ant. di Jacopo del Pollaiuolo orafo e M. Tomasa sua madre donò un libretto di disegni di mano dell d<sup>o</sup> Antonio a fran<sup>o</sup> di Ant<sup>o</sup> del Lavacchio gioielliere quando stette per fattorino con do Ant<sup>o</sup>." In the margin is written, "Lib: di disegni in casa degli Alessandrini sul quale v'è questo ricordo."

## APPENDIX



# I. GENEALOGICAL CHART OF THE FAMILY OF ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO

(Corrected from that published by Milanesi, Vas. iii. 301.)





## II

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE LIFE  
AND WORKS OF ANTONIO AND  
PIERO POLLAIUOLO.

[Where the name is not mentioned the statements  
refer to Antonio.]

- 1432. (N.S.) Jan. 17. Birth of Antonio.
- 1439. Birth of Giovanni.
- 1443. Birth of Piero.
- 1457. Feb. 22. Commission for the Silver Cross of S. Giovanni.
- 1459. Receives payment for Silver Cross.
- 1459. May 11. Is emancipated from his father.
- 1460. Executes three paintings representing the Labours of Hercules for Lorenzo dei Medici.
- 1461. (N.S.) Jan. 3. Commission by the Abbot of S. Pancrazio for a reliquary.
- 1461. July 7. Receives payment for a silver girdle from Filippo di Cino Rinuccini.
- 1462. April 6. Receives payment for silver chain from the same.
- 1465. Executes two silver candlesticks for S. Giovanni.
- 1466. Commission for the designs for embroideries.
- 1468. (N.S.) Jan. 19. Is required to value the palla of the Lantern of S. Maria del Fiore.
- 1469. Decorates armour and accoutrements for Benedetta Salutati to be worn at the Joust of Lorenzo.

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- 1469. June 26. Buys property at Quarata, near Pistoja.
- 1469. Aug. 18. Commission to Piero for the Virtues of the Mercatanzia.
- 1469. Dec. 18. Renewal of commission to Piero for the above.
- 1470. Aug. 2. Piero receives payment for two of the Virtues—Faith and Temperance.
- 1472. Antonio executes helmet for the Count of Urbino.
- 1473. Last payment for the designs for embroideries.
- 1473. Aug. 30. Receives payment for the silver crucifix executed for the Carmine.
- 1474. (N.S.) Jan. 11. Commission from the Signoria to execute silver basin.
- 1475. Altarpiece of S. Sebastian painted for the Pucci Chapel.
- 1477. July 24. Commission for Relief for the Silver Altar of S. Giovanni.
- 1477. Aug. 2. Receives payment for models for the Relief for the Silver Altar.
- 1477. Piero executes model for the Fortiguerri Tomb of Pistoja in competition with Verrocchio.
- 1478. April 9. Commission from the Operai of S. Maria del Fiore for a reliquary for the finger of the Baptist.
- 1478. Dec. 24. Commission to Piero from the Signoria to paint the Altarpiece of S. Bernardo for the Chapel in the Palazzo dei Priori. (Commission withdrawn a month later and given to Leonardo.)
- 1480. Portate to the Catasto by Antonio, Giovanni, and Piero.
- 1481. (N.S.) Feb. 17. Estimates reliquary made by Jacopo da Pisa for S. Gimignano.

- 1481. Buys house in the parish of S. Michele, Berteldo.
- 1482. Commission to Piero from the Signoria to paint the *façade* of a fountain.
- 1483. Buys property in the parish of Bacchereto of about 18 acres.
- 1483. Last payment for the Relief of the Silver Altar.
- 1483. Piero paints the Coronation of the Virgin for the Church of S. Agostino, S. Gimignano.
- 1484. Departure for Rome.
- 1491. Takes part in the competition for the *façade* of the Duomo.
- 1493. Completes the Tomb of Sixtus IV.
- 1494. July 13. Writes to Gentil Virginio Orsini for permission to travel from Rome to Pistoja.
- 1494. Buys property near his estate of Bacchereto.
- 1496. Nov. 4. Makes testament.
- 1498. Feb. 4. Dies in Rome.
- 1498. Feb. 13. The Signoria claims debts due to Antonio on behalf of his heirs.

### III

## LIST OF WORKS BY ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO.

### PAINTINGS.

- BERLIN.—*Kaiser Friedrich Museum*. DAVID. Oil on wood. H. 0.96, cm. B. 0.34. Bought 1890.
- FLORENCE.—*Uffizi*. 1153. COMBAT OF HERCULES WITH THE HYDRA and COMBAT OF HERCULES AND ANTÆUS. Oil on wood. 1301. SS. JAMES, VINCENT AND EUSTACE.

Oil on wood. Painted for the Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal, S. Miniato. (With Piero.)

3450. PROFILE PORTRAIT OF LADY. Oil on wood. (Much repainted.)

*Museo dell' Opera del Duomo.* DESIGNS FOR EMBROIDERIES. 1466—1473.

*S. Miniato. Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal. Over Altar.* TWO ANGELS. Fresco.

*Torre del Gallo. Villa Gallina. Arcetri.* FIVE DANCING FIGURES. Fresco. (Ruined and repainted.)

LONDON.—*National Gallery.*—292. S. SEBASTIAN. Oil on wood. 1475? Painted for the Pucci Chapel, S.S. Annunziata, H. 9 ft. 6 in. B. 6 ft. 7½ in. Bought from the Marchese Pucci, 1857. (With Piero.)

928. APOLLO AND DAPHNE. Oil on wood. H. 11½ in. B. 7½ in. In 1845 in the collection of Mr. W. Coningham, later of Mr. Wynn Ellis, by whom it was bequeathed to the Gallery, 1876.

MILAN.—*Poldi-Pezzoli Museum.* PORTRAIT OF THE WIFE OF GIOVANNI DEI BARDI. Oil on wood. H. 0.46 cm. B. 0.34 cm.

NEW HAVEN, U.S.A.—*Jarves Collection.* 64. HERCULES AND NESSUS. Oil. H. 0.21 cm. B. 0.31 cm. Transferred from panel to canvas in 1867. (With Piero.)

STAGGIA (NEAR POGGIBONSI).—*Pieve di S. Maria.* COMMUNION OF S. MARY OF EGYPT. Oil on wood.

TURIN.—*Galleria Reale.* 117. THE JOURNEY OF TOBIAS. Oil on wood. H. 187 cm. B. 118. Painted for Or S.

Michele. Bought by the Gallery, 1865, from Baron Garriod, who had it from Casa Tolomei, Siena. (With Piero.)

## SCULPTURE

FLORENCE.—*Museo Nazionale*. BUST OF WARRIOR. Terra cotta.

HERCULES AND ANTÆUS. STATUETTE. BRONZE.

*Museo dell' Opera del Duomo*. SILVER CROSS, 1457—1459. Lower part only.

BIRTH OF BAPTIST. Silver relief on left side of Silver Altar. 1477—1480.

*Collection of Signor Brauer*. SHIELD WITH MILO OF CROTONA. Gesso on wood. From the Collection of Mr. Capel Cure.

LONDON.—*Victoria and Albert Museum*. "DISCORD." Gesso relief.

ROME.—*S. Pietro. Chapel of the Sacrament*. TOMB OF SIXTUS IV. 1493. Bronze.

*Left Aisle*. TOMB OF INNOCENT VIII. 1498. Bronze.

## DRAWINGS

BERLIN.—*Kupferstich Kabinet*. 471. NUDE ARCHER. Pen and wash.

CHANTILLY.—*Musée Condé*. HEAD OF SAINT. Black chalk. H. 19 cm. B. 14 cm. (Attributed to Mantegna.)

FLORENCE.—*ffizi*. On the back of Piero's painting. CHARITY. Black chalk heightened with white.

[Cornice 29, No. 294.] TURIBOLO. Reverse : NAVICELLA. Pen and wash. H. 27 cm. B. 18½ cm.

[Cornice 29, No. 699.] S. JOHN BAPTIST AND OTHER STUDIES. Pen and wash. H. 28 cm. B. 19½ cm.

[Cornice 31, No. 357.] S. JOHN BAPTIST WITH SKULL. Pen and wash. H. 34 cm. B. 23 cm.

[Cornice 31, No. 95 F.] ADAM. Pen and wash.

[Cornice 31, No. 97 F.] EVE. Pen and wash.

Dimensions of each, H. 27½ cm. B. 18½ cm.

[Cornice 34, No. 267.] NUDE STUDIES. Reverse : STUDIES OF HERMA. Pen. H. 19½ cm. B. 24½ cm.

[Cornice 34, No. 369.] OLD KING ADORING. Pen and wash. H. 13 cm. B. 23 cm.

[Cornice 42, No. 269.] NUDE STUDIES. Pen and chalk. H. 28 cm. B. 20½ cm.

[Cornice 42, No. 246.] NUDE STUDIES. Pen. H. 17 cm. B. 26 cm.

[Not exposed. Categoria II. No. 101.] S. JEROME. Pen and wash. H. 37 cm. B. 53 cm. Pricked for transfer.

[Not exposed. Categoria II. No. 2299.] YOUNG KING AND SUITE. Pen and wash. H. 33 cm. B. 26½ cm.

[Santarelli Collection. No. 58.] HEAD OF MAN. Sepia Wash, H. 14½ cm. B. 10 cm.

LONDON.—*British Museum.* HERCULES AND HYDRA. Pen. H. 28 cm. B. 16 cm.

PRISONER BROUGHT BEFORE JUDGE. Pen and wash. H. 37 cm. B. 69½ cm.

MILAN.—*Collection of Signor Frizzoni.* S. SEBASTIAN. Pen and wash. H. 23 cm. B. 9 cm.

MUNICH.—*Kupferstich Kabinet*. STUDY FOR EQUESTRIAN Statue to FRANCESCO SFORZA. Pen and wash.

PARIS.—*Collection of M. Bonnat*. NUDE MAN. Pen and wash. H. 26 cm. B. 8 cm.

SALISBURY.—*Collection of Lord Wilton, Pembroke House*. NUDE FIGURES IN COMBAT. Pen and wash. H. 23½ cm. B. 19½ cm. STUDY OF HORSE WITH MEASUREMENTS. Pen.

VIENNA.—*Albertina*. TWO MEN CONVERSING. Pen and wash. H. 27½ cm. B. 21½ cm.\*

## IV

## LIST OF WORK BY PIERO POLLAIUOLO

## PAINTINGS

BERLIN.—*Kaiser Friedrich Museum*. ANNUNCIATION. Oil on wood. H. 150 cm. B. 174 cm. Bought from the Solly Collection, 1821. Assisted in small part by Antonio.

*Collection of Herr Hainauer*. PROFILE PORTRAIT OF LADY. Oil on wood.

FLORENCE.—Uffizi

1306. PRUDENCE

69. HOPE

70. JUSTICE

71. TEMPERANCE

72. FAITH

73. CHARITY

Oil on wood. Painted for the Council Hall of the Palazzo del Tribunale di Mercanzia, Florence, 1469-1470.

\* I am indebted for the measurements to Mr. Berenson's "Florentine Drawings."

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30. PORTRAIT OF GALEZZO SFORZA. Oil on wood.

S. Niccolo Sacristy. MADONNA DELLA CINTOLA. Fresco.

[Possibly assisted in small part by Antonio.]

S. GIMIGNANO.—*Collegiata*. CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN.  
1483. Oil on wood. Painted for the Church of S.  
Agostino.

## SCULPTURE

FLORENCE.—*Museo Nazionale*. BUST OF YOUTH? [called  
Piero di Lorenzo de' Medici.] Terra cotta. Attributed  
to Verrocchio.

## DRAWINGS

FLORENCE.—*Uffizi*. [Cornice 42, No. 248.] OLD NUDE  
ARCHER. Pen and wash.

[Cornice 43, No. 100.] OLD NUDE MAN RECLINING.  
Pen and wash. H. 21 cm. B. 25 cm.

[Cornice 43, No. 14506.] HEAD OF FAITH. Black  
chalk rubbed with red. H. 20 cm. B. 17 cm. Cartoon  
for painting No. 72. Pricked for transfer.

[Cornice 45, No. 78.] YOUNG NUDE ARCHER. Pen  
and wash. H. 15½ cm. B. 13½ cm.

[Cornice 48, No. 763°.] STUDY OF HORSE AND HEAD  
OF MAN. Silver-point. H. 20 cm. B. 27 cm.



## V

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# VI

## DOCUMENTS

### I

[The following four documents were transcribed and for the first time published in complete form by the author in "L'Arte," Anno VIII. Fasc. V., 1905. Gaye had cited a part of the Portata of Antonio for the year 1480 and a small part of that of Jacopo for the year 1457 (Cart. Ined. i. 265-66.)]

#### PORTATA AL CATASTO DEL 1457.

DI JACOPO DI ANTONIO DI GIOVANNI (POLLAIUOLO).

*Filza di portate del Catasto. Quartiere San Spirito.*

*Gonfalone Drago, anno 1457, n. 795 a c. 622.*

Iacopo di antonio di giovanni pollaiuolo diceva nel primo catasto in antonio di Giovanni mio padre

Castato ( <i>sic</i> )	.	.	.	.	.	F. 6.6
Valsente	.	.	.	.	.	F.
Cinquina	.	.	.	.	.	F. 10

#### *Sustanze.*

$\frac{1}{2}$  Casa posta a charmignano in su confuni della corte di renaccio che da p° via secondo il podere di sandro speciale a  $\frac{1}{3}$  e  $\frac{1}{4}$  del detto sandro la quale tengho per mio abitare.

Fo una bottega di pollaiuolo in merchatò vecchio che 'l sito è degl' ufficiali della torre che ne pago l'anno 11 fiorini in sulla detta bottega traffico l. 100.

Debitori dell' anno 1414 insino di mio padre  
(*omissis*).

Debitori mia dal 1429 in qua  
(*omissis*).

Creditori  
(*omissis*).

*Bocche.*

Jacopo detto d'età d'anni 58 . . .	F. 200
Monna Tommasa mia donna d'età d'anni 45	F. 200
Antonio mio figliuolo d'anni 24 . . .	F. 200
Salvestro mio figliuolo d'anni 22 . . .	F. 200
Giovanni mio figliuolo d'anni 17. . .	F. 200
Piero mio figliuolo d'anni 14 . . .	F. 200
Cosa mia figliuola d'anni 10 e nonna dota .	F. 200

## II

PORTATA AL CATASTO DEL 1480  
DI GIOVANNI DI JACOPO DI ANTONIO.

*Campione del Catasto. Quartiere San Spirito. Ghonfalone  
Drago, anno 1480, n. 1000 a c. 206.*

Quartiere S. Spirito. Ghonfalone Drago.

Giovanni di Jacopo d'antonio pollaiuolo abita nel popolo di santa maria maggore e'n sulla piazza degli agli ghonfalone drago san giovanni ed è prestanziato nel ghonfalone drago santo spirito.

disse il chatasto 1469 in nome di Jacopo d'antonio mio padre ebbe in detto ghonfalone drago santo spirito.

„	„	„	„	fior: — l. 4. sol 1. den: 8
Ebbe di sesto.	.	.	.	fior: 3. l. 3. sol: 2 den: 6

*Sustanze.*

$\frac{1}{3}$  di chasa per non divisa chon antonio e piero mia

frategli posta nel popolo di santa maria maggore e'n sulla piazza degli agli ghonfalone dragho san giovanni che da primo via sechondo nofri degli agli  $\frac{1}{3}$  messer bernardo degli agli chavalierie friero\*  $\frac{1}{4}$  Guliano di piero pancatichi la quale chomperamo da sindachi di filippo di domenicho degli agli per fior: 300 larghi roghato ser barone di francescho nel 1472 e paghane la rata mia della dota della ginevra figliuola di francesco baccegli e mie donna tenghola per mio abitare e negli  $\frac{2}{3}$  terzi abita antonio e piero mia frategli.

Una casetta posta in detto popolo e dietro la nostra abitazione nel chiasso de buoi ghonfalone drago san giovanni ch'a primo detto chiasso sechondo noi medesimi di dietro  $\frac{1}{3}$  filice di deo del becchuto o altri più veri chonfini la quale si chostuma apigonare a portatori o mondane ma non continovamente e al prexente vi sta federigho della barbera tedesco e tienla a mesi per ragone di lire 40 per l'anno senza scrittura nissuna la quale chasa comperai da filippo di domenicho degli agli roghato ser antonio di ser batista per pregio di fior: 120 suggello e paghala della dota della ginevra sopradetta mie donna l'anno 1470. fior: 142.17-1.

Uno palchacco nel popolo di santa maria in chanpidoglio ch'a primo via sechondo francescho di giovanni del pitoso pollaiuolo  $\frac{1}{3}$  pagholo di simjone charnesecchi il quale s'aopera a tener polli e tortole e altro del nostro mestiero tienlo a pigione xfano di lorenzo vinattiere e olle al mese per soldi 40 il mese troverretela nella portata di iacopo mio padre nel 1469 . . . . . fior: 85.14.4

Exercitomi cholla persona in fare un po di botteggha di pollaiuolo in merchato vecchio dove trafficho lire quaranta di piccoli in circha e per rispetto degl' occhorrenti tenporali

\* Cavaliere del Santo Sepolcro.

fo piu tosto debito che mobile chome posso alle spettabilità vostre mostrare.

*Incharichi.*

Tengho a pigone una bottega posta in merchato vecchio la quale è degli uffitali della torre e donne l'anno fior; otto di pigone. Roghato ser Andrea nacchianti di dicembre 1479.

Sono obrighato dare ogn'anno a bivigliano di. . . chorseliini lire 4 piccioli el quale à tale rigresso e tale rata sopra il palchacco ch'è fralle sustanze si noma posto nel popolo di santa maria in chanpidoglio, di che senpre chiarirò le menti vostre.

*Bocche.*

Jachopo mio padre d'età d'anni 81.

Giovanni detto d'età d'anni 41.

mona Ginevera mia donna anni 26.

Salvestro mio figliuolo anni 8.

lucrezia mia figliuola anni 6 senza dota.

francescho mio figliuolo anni 4.

domenicho mio figliuolo anni 3.

Truovomi chome vedete senza entrata ordinaria e con 7 bocche adosso e a tutto mi conviene sopperire coll' industria e' tenporali son fortissimi chome sanno le spettabilità vostre alle quali senpre mi racchomando.

III

PORTATA AL CATASTO DEL 1480

DI ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO.

*Campione del Catasto. Quartiere San Spirito. Gonfalone  
Drago, anno 1480, a c. 14.*

Quartiere di Santo Spirito Ghonfalone Drago.

Antonio di Jachopo d'antonio horafo del pollaiuolo

chonpreso nel chatasto 1470 sotto Jachopo mio padre e chosi ebe nel sesto 1474.

Ebe di chatasto . . . . . fior — l. 4. sol 1. den. 3

Ebe di sesto che ci à disfatti fior. 3. l. 3. sol 2 den. 6

Fu mancieppato d'Iacopo mio padre a dì xi di magio 1459 roghato ser silvano notaio di por santa maria a libro rosso de la merchatantia c. 56.

*Sustanze.*

Una chasa per mio abitare popolo di santa maria maggiore in su la piazza degll agli chonfinanti da primo detta piazza sechondo  $\frac{1}{3}$  messer bernardo degli agli friere  $\frac{1}{4}$  guliano di piero panciaticchi  $\frac{1}{6}$  giovanni mio fratello,  $\frac{1}{6}$  nofri di nicholo di lotto degli agli la quale conperai da sindachi di filippo di domenicho degli agli fiorini 400 di sugiello roghato ser barone notaio di deti sindachi furono parte de la dote de la donna mia . . . . . fior —

Un podere nel chontado di pistoia che ne vorei essere diguno luogo detto a quarata popolo di sa michele a buriano chonperalo da braciotto di michele da bachereto fior: 415 larghi charta per ser nicholaio da bachereto cho le sue appartenenze sotto di xxvi di gugno 1469 chon chasa da lavoratore da primo via, sechondo rio  $\frac{1}{3}$  è beni di sa michele a buriano  $\frac{1}{4}$  giacho d'andrea  $\frac{1}{6}$  bonachorso salveti e altri più veri chonfini chol campo di piano che lo tiene mateo pacini damie di fitto staia 13 di grano queste terre lavora al prexente nicholaio di vestruccio e mateo guelfi annole partite fra loro tenghovi suso un paio di buoi chostorono fior: 13  $\frac{1}{2}$  e mateo un paio di giovenchj in tuto fior: 24.

Tengho undeficho si comperò da francescho di bartolomeo linauolj lire 57 charta per senicholaio da bacheretò credo che sia nel ghonfalone del vaio.



E perchè non v'era chasa per lavoratore che quella che v'era adopero per me tolsi un fitto ricomperando dalla chiesa di sa michele a buriano cioè la chasa dove sta ora e' lavoratore chon cierti pezi di terra donne l'anno staia 21 di grano. roghato in veschovado di pistoia e di questo non e' sto in chapitale feci per un be' mi sta . . . fior: 498

Poi chonperai un pezo di terra chon una chasaccia boschato a primo e sechondo via  $\frac{1}{3}$  francescho di ser lucha da pistoia chostò lire 63 charta ser nicholaio da bachereto nel popolo di buriano trasene pocho uxasi chol podere . . . . . fior. 15

Un altro pezo di terra che v'è in mezo un chiasso tra l'uno e l'altro chonperai d'andrea di gione lire 68 charta ser nichola del trincia che sta a la merchatantia de la quale chonciede a tornarvi drento a mona chaterina di gienaio per l'amo' di dio evi stata 5 anni e questo è noto a tutto el paese. Rendono in parte le sopradette cose . . . . . fior: 17

Grano, staia 40 detta Rendita è chol podere di sopra.

Vino, barili 20.

Biade, staia 15.

Olio, barili  $7\frac{1}{2}$ .

Legnie l'anno chataste 3.

decie annj una volta libbre 120 di charne.

Una chusura chon una chasetta chonperai da nichola d'antonio arotatore in pistoia chostomi fior: 40 larghi charta di ser nicholo del ghallo da pistoia luogho detto abonto chonfinsi a primo via sechondo veschovado di pistoia terzo tura di piero di tura  $\frac{1}{4}$  nicholaio di teo.

E più un chanpo di dua staiora chonperai da vestro d'aghostino chostomi lire 21 charta per ser antonio di ghuglielmo da popi chonfini da primo rio e sechondo

Jachopo d'ormanno linaiuoli  $\frac{1}{3}$  beni di prete ghodenzò da pistoia.

U [uno] pezuolo di vignia chonperai da la chonpagnia di quarata chostò lire 30 di piccioli charta ser giorgio da monte magnio chonfini da primo via sechondo l'opera di sa Jacopo da pistoia.

Lavora queste chose pasquino da tasinaia chon un paio di bucelini chostorono fior: undici. Rende pichola chosa in parte . . . . . fior: 61-15

Grano, staia 8

Olio, barili  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

Vino, barili —

Legnia, cataste 1.

Una vignia a chastello popolo di macia o vero santo stefano in pane chonperala insino innanzi l'altro chatasto del 1470. chonperala da bartolomeo di giovanni cierauiolo fior: 35 charta per mano di ser silvano de l'arte di por santa maria da prima andrea de la stufa secondo lionardo di meo sali terzo via e  $\frac{1}{4}$  viotolo rende in parte barili sette l'anno, fior. 48.

O fior: ciento in sun una chasa drrieto al chiasso de buoj e quali si paghorono sotto nome di chonpera di soma di fior: 300 ne l'anno 1470. Roghato ser antonio di ser batista chome a bocha vi chiarirò fior: 214.5 9

Tengo a fitto da antonio e cristofano spini  $\frac{1}{3}$  di podere fuori de la porta al prato donne l'anno l. 36 di piccioli.

Fo una botegha d'orafo in vachereccia in una botegha la quale è de l'erede di Jacopo baronciegli donne l'anno di pigione fior: 14 di singlo (sugello) ne la quale o per chompagnio pagholo di giovanni sogliani el quale trae per lira soldi 6 ed io tragho soldi 14 per lira chè si faceva più pe' lui essere stato pe' gharzone in modo abiamo fatto in su

la quale bottega non abiamo chorpo solevano fare chol credito de banchi e anche questo è manchato. Restiamo di chorpo le nostre maserizie chon pocha speranza di benese dio non provede.

Ebi di dota fior: 800. Tute queste sustanze non fanno la somma de la dote e domani chi manchassi e l'abi la sua dote non rimanendo nulla alla chasa che non rimangha disfatto chi rimane. Io mi vi rachomando.

*Boche.*

Antonio sopradetto d'eta d'anni 49.

Marietta mia donna d'età d'anni 29.

#### IV

CAMPIONE DELLA DECIMA 1498 DI ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO.

*Campione della Decima 1498 a c. 5.*

Quartiere S°. Spirito. Gonfalone Dragho.

Antonio d'iacopo orafo popolo di santa maria magore di firenze disse la gravezza 1481 in nome detto in detto quartiere e ghonfalone.

*Sustanze.*

j<sup>a</sup> chasa per mio abitare popolo di santa maria maggiore in sulla piazza degli agli confinata a primo detta piazza secondo  $\frac{1}{3}$  messer bernardo degli agli friere  $\frac{1}{4}$  guliano di piero panchatichi  $\frac{1}{5}$  giovanni mio fratello  $\frac{1}{6}$  nofri degli agli.

j<sup>o</sup> podere posto nel chontado di pistoia luogo detto quarata popolo di santo michele a burriano comprato dal 1481 indrieto da brucotto di michele da bacchereto fiorini 415 suggello charta per nicholo da bachereto cholla sua appartenenza sotto di 27 di gugno 1464 che a primo via secondo rio  $\frac{1}{3}$  beni di santo michele a buriano  $\frac{1}{4}$  gacho  $\frac{1}{5}$

bonachorso salvetti e altri più veri chonfini a primo via secondo via  $\frac{1}{3}$  fosato  $\frac{1}{4}$  antonio detto.

E perche detto podere nonna chasa da lavoratore che quella che v'era adopero per mio abitare tolsi uno fitto ricomperando dalla chiesa di santo michele a buriano coè la chasa dove istà el lavoratore con certi pezzi di tera posti in detto popolo à primo . . . . .

donne l'anno staia 21 di grano rogato in veschovado di pistoia e di questo none istò in chapitale

lavora al presente detta terra e detto podere matteo di ghuelfo e lorenzo di meo di lionardo di detto popolo rende in parte cho j° paio di buoj fiorini 34 soldi 17

grano, staia 40

vino, barili 20

biade, staia 15

olio, barili 3

fichi secchi, staia 3

legne, cataste

E più comperai j° pezzo di terra cho j<sup>a</sup> chasata boschato posto in detto popolo da primo e sechondo via  $\frac{1}{3}$  francescho di ser lucha da pistoia chosto lire 63 charta per ser nicholaio da bachereto nel popolo di burjano fu dal 1481 indrieto.

j° altro pezzo di terra che v'è in mezzo j° chiasso tra l'j° a l'altro comperai d'andrea di gone lire 68 piccioli charta per ser nicholo del trinca da pistoia sta alla merchatantia dal 1481 indrjeto.

1<sup>a</sup> chiusa con j<sup>a</sup> chasetta conperai da nichola di antonio arotatore in pistoia chostomi fiorini 40 dal 1481 indietro charta per ser nicholo del ghallo da pistoia luogho detto erbonto da p° via sechondo veschovado di pistoia  $\frac{1}{3}$  tura  $\frac{1}{4}$  nicholo detto.

E più j° campo di 2 staiora chonperai da vestro dagostino chosto lire 21 dal 1481 indrieto charta per ser antonio di ghuglielmo da poppi ch'a primo rio sechondo iachopo d'ormanno linaiuolo  $\frac{1}{3}$  beni di prete ghodenzo da pistoia.

j° pezzo di vigna in detto popolo ch'a primo via sechondo l'opera di santo iachopo di pistoia costò lire 30 dal 1481 indrieto.

j° pezzo di terra posto nel popolo della pieve di bacchereto da primo gismondo da bachereto a sechondo giochino da bachereto  $\frac{1}{3}$  antonio comperatore  $\frac{1}{4}$  via comperato da lorenzo d'amadio da bachereto fiorini 33 $\frac{1}{2}$  di suggello charta per ser piero di matteo dati fino dall' anno 1493.

L'entrata di dette terre è ne la faccia di la chon tre altri pezi di terra.

j° fattoio in detto popolo a uso di detto podere.

j° pezzo di terra lavoratia hulivata e soda posta nel popolo a piviere di bachereto comprata da govachino da bachereto che a primo via a sechondo gismondo d'amadio  $\frac{1}{3}$  antonio conpratore  $\frac{1}{4}$  nicholo castruci rogò ser xfano da chastelfrancho di staiora 18 in circha 1493.

j<sup>a</sup> casaccia con certi pezzuoli di tera posti in detto popolo che a primo via sechondo francescho di ser lucha da pistoia  $\frac{1}{3}$  rio  $\frac{1}{4}$  antonio comperatore  $\frac{1}{3}$  domenicho fagnoni chon più altri veri chonfini la quale chasa e tera chomperai d'antonio di ser lucha da pistoia charta per ser chimenti taratti da pistoia le dette terre sono hulivate parte boschate vignate e sode chostorono per tutto fior: 74 $\frac{1}{2}$  numero de l'ano no mi richordo 1494.

2 pezzi di terra lavoratio e j° sodo overo boschato posto nel popolo della pieve di bacchereto afitato a francescho

di govachino da bachereto damme di fitto l'ano grano staia 2.

Lavora dette terre di sopra e 6 pezzi di terra dati nella faccia di là biago mescherino e piero di tura di detto popolo rendono l'anno di nostra parte cho j° paio di buoj . . . . . fior: 50. s. 17. d. 6

Grano, staia 180.

Vino, barili 25.

Olio, barili 8.

Biade di più ragione, staia 15.

fichi sechi, staia 5.

j° pezzo di tera di staia 6 in circha posto in su l'ombrone luogho detto a la chasolana da primo ombrone sechondo adovardo rucellai  $\frac{1}{3}$  santa maria nuova. Ollo affitato a lazzerio e marchio di migliore di detto luogho in su chonfini tra prato e pistoia danomene l'anno staia 15 di grano coè grano staia 15 fior: 2. sol: 16. d: 3.

j° pezzo di vignata di staia 6 in circha posta nel popolo di santo stefano in pane comprata 1470 da bartolommeo di giovanni ceraiuolo rogò ser silvano a primo rede d'andrea della stufa sechondo lionardo di meo di sale  $\frac{1}{3}$  via  $\frac{1}{4}$  viottolo è disfatta ed è terra da pane.

Olla afitata a Jachopo di stagio di piero di detto popolo a soldi 28 piccioli lo staioro danne in tutto di fitto l'anno lire 8 sol: 2. a parola fior: 3 sol: 8. d. 3

*Incharichi.*

Tengho a fitto dal v°<sup>1</sup> di pistoia 2 pezzi di terra posti nel popolo di santo michele a buriano luogho detto al bonto da p° via sechondo nicholo forbicaio  $\frac{1}{3}$  nicholo buon-girolami  $\frac{1}{4}$  via donne l'anno di fitto che apare in su libri di detto veschovado done l'anno di fitto staia 6 di grano coè libbre 2 d'olio.

Grano, staia 6.

Olio, libbre 2.

Tengho a fitto dal kamerlingho del veschovado di pistoia j° pezzo di tera di staia 4 in circa posto nel popolo di santo michele a buriano luogo detto alle guncherete da primo sechondo  $\frac{1}{3}$  io medesimo dona l'ano di fitto

Grano, staia 4.

tengho a fitto rechomperando da pretre ghodenzio da pistoia. 2 pezzi di terra posti nel popolo di santa lucia a quarata a primo via sechondo beni d'andrea di fiore  $\frac{1}{3}$  rio donne l'anno di fitto staia 15 di grano coè

Grano, staia 15.

Do ogn' anno a la chiesa di santo michele a buriano per fitto de la chasa comperai dalla chiesa detta per mio abitare con certe tera chome apare di sopra staia 21 di grano e libbre j<sup>a</sup> d'olio coè

Grano, staia 21.

Olio, libbre 1.

*Beni alienati.*

j<sup>a</sup> chasa posta nel popolo di santo michele bertelde drieto al chiasso dei buoi la quale 1481 avemo comperata fior: 300 e datone fior: 100 d'arra dipoi paghai e detti fiorini 200 e di poi 1482 mi fu convinta per la via del potestà di firenze e oggi la tiene francesco di antonio gugini ghonfalone ruote e onne pagato la gravezza dal 1481 in qua e omni perduto fior: 300 sichè levatela dalla mia gravezza e ponetela a chi oggi la possiede.

Ebbi in dote da monna lucrezia figliuola di fandone fandoni mia donna j<sup>a</sup> entratura di j<sup>a</sup> bottega in merchato vechio che oggi l'abita iachopo di nutto solosmei ghonfalone Lione d'oro a lato allo speziale del re. E più ebbi in dote da detta mona lucrezia e da detto fantone.

j<sup>a</sup> chasa posta nel popolo di santo piero maggiore di rimpetto a san xfano nella via del giardino dal detto fandone con suoi chonfini. La quale entratura e chasa mi fu chonvinta per la via del potestà di firenze dalla nanina figliuola fu di piero del ciringa ghonfalone chiavi per la sua dota cheffù soda prima chellamia.

O dato le dette cose di sopra perchè la gravezza sia posta chi tiene e detti beni e per non perdere le mie ragioni se io ne potessi mai ridrarre alchuna chosa.

E più abiamo una meza chasa cioè dal fattoio in su la quale è di nostra madre tiella domenicho di sandro speziale alla tenuta da 1449 in qua acci promesso di farrci el dovere e mai non se ne auto nulla la quale chonfina chol suo fattoio e chonfina cholla sua vendemmia e risponde in sulla via publica.

## V

PORTATA AL CATASTO DEL 1480 DI PIERO  
POLLAIUOLO

[Published by Jacques Mesnil, "Rivista d'Arte," III. Fasc. I. p. 7.]

S<sup>o</sup> Spirito. Drago

Piero di Jachopo d'Antonio dipintore

Sustanze

Chasa per mio abitare cioè  $\frac{1}{3}$  parte posta ala piazza degli Agli popolo di Sancta Maria Maggiore, da p<sup>o</sup> via 2<sup>o</sup> Nofri degli Agli 3<sup>o</sup> Messer Bernardo degli Agli chavaliere friere, la quale chonperammo noi frategli da Filipo di Domenicho degli Agli, cioè de sindachi suoi, charta per mano di ser Barone di Franc<sup>o</sup> notaio alla merchattantia.



Una chasetta la quale è apichata cholla detta di sopra fu di messer Bernardo degli Agli chavalieri friere phagone l'anno f' sei l<sup>a</sup> 1. 4 S. VII la quale adopero quando ho che fare a dipinguiere.

Un pezo di tera chon chasa rovinata posta nel popolo di S. Michele a Buriano chontado di Pistoia la quale è di una chompagnia della Trinità di Pistoia paghone l'anno staia 13 di grano e S. 30. a detta chompagnia di fitto.

### Bocche

Piero di Jacopo sopra detto d'eta d'anni 33

Monna Tommasa mia madre d'anni 68 ala quale do le spese.

## VI

### TESTAMENTO DI M<sup>o</sup> ANTONIO Q<sup>m</sup> JACOPO ANTONIO POLLAJUOLI FIORENTINO FATTO IN ROMA

[Published by Gualandi, "Memorie Originali Italiane riguardanti le Belle Arti," Bologna, 1844. Serie V.]

The original is preserved in the Archives of the Convent of S. Pietro in Vincoli, in a book entitled "S.P.V. Jura diversa ab anno 1433 usque ad annorum 1665."

[Outside] Testamentum Antonij polagioli in hac ecclesia Sancti petri ad Vincula prope altare S. Sebastiani 1496.

### JESUS MARIA.

In Cristi nomine Amen. Anno a natiuitate eiusdem M<sup>o</sup> CCC<sup>o</sup>LXXXXVI<sup>o</sup>. In Ditione . . . [sic] Die vero 4 Nouembris pontificatus S<sup>m</sup>i in X. po. patris et D.<sup>ni</sup> N.<sup>ri</sup> D. Alexandri Diuina *providentia*. pp. VI anno V.

Quoniam ut ait beatus apostolus Statutum est hominibus

semel mori et cum nil sit incertius hora mortis propterea egregius ac prudens vir magister *Antonius* q. *Jacobi Antonij Del pollagiolo* Ciuis florentinus hoc diligenter in se ipso considerans sanus q<sup>d</sup> mente et corpore volens res suas ita bene disponere ut quando placuerit Altissimo creatori animam ipsius de hoc ergastulo Carnis ad se uocare nulla prorsus questio lis aut difficultas orire inter filias suas atque nepotes heredes, sed omnia paccata atque queta secundum ipsius voluntatem perpetuo per durent. Id circo primo et ante omnia prefatus magister *Antonius* vult et ordinat quod si casu accideret ipsum claudere diem extremum in urbe Roma animam eius toto corde reccomendat factori suo : in quo sumsit principium ut ipsius sola clementia et non eius meritis dignetur eandem in paradisi sedibus collocare.

Item vult et ordinat cadaverem suum tumulandum in ecclesia sancti petri ad uincula cum debito honore atque officijs funeralibus iuxta suam qualitatem et conditionem.

Item ordinat quod annuatim a fratribus prefate ecclesie celebretur anniuersarium in die sui obitus nisi accideret in die festi quo casu in die immediate sequenti pro remedio animae suae quibus fratribus ordinat dari annuatim pro huiusmodi anniversario a suis heredibus de bonis suis quolibet anno duc. unum aurei cum duobus cereis duarum librarum.

Item vult quod si accideret eundem mori in ciuitate Florentiae quod corpus suum traddatur sepulture patrum suorum predictis modo et forma uel ut supra cum annuali anniuersario : ita tamen quod elemosina superius ordinata detur religiosis presbyteris apud quos fuit corpus tumulatum.

Item reliquit Dominabus *Marietae* et *Magdalene* filiabus suis ex se et domina *lucretia* ipsius uxore legiptime natis Duo millia Ducatos auri pro earum dote V<sup>t</sup> mille d<sup>na</sup>

*Mariete* super Montem in ciuitate Florentiae : et reliquos mille D<sup>ne</sup> *Magdalene* qui retrahi debeant de fructibus possessionum suarum quando non reperirentur in contantis ut quocunque nihil uendendo aut alienando de bonis suis stabilibus aut minuendo. De quibus duobus millibus ducatis sic retractis voluit prefatas ipsius filias libere et licite posse disponere quicquid voluerint et ordinauerint secundum earum uotum ac uoluntatem.

Item uoluit et ordinauit quod prefatoe ipsius filiae una cum domina *lucretia* earum matre et eius uxore sint et esse debeant usufructuaria tam omnium bonorum suorum immobilium V<sup>t</sup> Domorum et possessionum tam intus quam extra Florentiam aut commitatu siue in territorio pistoriensi constitutarum in iuta sua tamen. Et quod pars premorientis accrescat ad superuiuentes uel superuiuentem donec et quousque prefate D<sup>na</sup> *lucretia* eius uxor et D<sup>na</sup> *Mariete* et *Magdalene* eius filiae diem earum clauserint extremum. Non tamen liceat prefatis Dominabus *lucretia* *Magdalene* et *Mariete* uendere alienare diminuere uel obligare dicta bona stabilia, sed uoluit integra et illibata reseruari ad heredes.

Item uoluit ordinauit atque reliquit prefatis dominabus *lucretie* *Mariete* et *Magdalene* omnia bona sua mobilia tam in pecunijs quam in reliquis bonis que reperientur tempore sui obitus. De quibus uoluit eas obligatas esse alicui persone cuiusque status gradus uel conditionis existant reddere rationem sed esse et fore sua libera et expedita.

Item uoluit ordinauit atque reliquit testator prefatus post mortem prefatarum dominarum *lucretie* *Mariete* et *Magdalene* suos ueros atque legiptimos heredes omnium bonorum stabilium nepotes suos masculos tam legiptime natos ex *Joanne* q<sup>m</sup> *Jacobi Antonij del pollagiolo* dicti

testatoris fratris carnalis. Ita tamen quod non possit aut valeant uendere alienare diminuere uel obligare quocunque modo predicta bona sua immobilia alicui persone extranee extra lineam directam et masculinam, sed i accideret alicui eorum aliqua urgeat necessitas in hoc casu voluit et ordinauit quod liceat eisdem uendere alter alteri uel ipsorum nepotibus masculis tam per lineam directam legitime nascituris. Ita tamen quod semper bona prefata preseruentur et uadant de heredibus masculos prefate linee nepotum suorum masculorum et non alia modo. Et voluit quod si aliquis eorum contraueniret huic sue uoluntati et testamento et ordinationi quocunque modo quod ipso facto cadant a iure istius legati et quod filie prefate succedant in portione contraueniendis huiusmodi sue uoluntati et quod possint disponere de dicta portione ad earum uelle. Et similiter si omnes heredes instituti id ipsum facerent et contrauenirent similiter cadant ab ipso legato et hereditate et succedant dicte filie immedate suis bonis tam mobilibus quam stabilibus disponendo in dicto casu de omnibus ad earum uelle.

Item voluit et ordinauit prefatus testator quod *Joannes* supradictus frater eius carnalis si superviveret Domino permittente post mortem predictarum dominarum *lucretie Mariete* et *Magdalene* et ipse dum uixerit intret in portionem fructuum omnium bonorum immobilium tam domorum quam processionum intus et extra florentiam constitutorum nec omnino excludi possit ab ipsis suis nepotibus et filiis dicti *Joannis* sed is sit rector et Gubernator et maior super suos filios.

Item voluit et ordinauit prefatus testator quod supradicte domine *Marieta* et *Magdalena* sint et esse debeant sub tutela et regimine domine *lucretie* earum matris et uxoris

ipsius testatoris quousque faerint nupte et quod nullus possit aut valeat eandem mollestare rationae prefati tutelae, neque ipsam dominam *Lucretiam* eius uxorem, aut dominam *Marietam* et *Magdalenam* eius filias molestare aut trahere ad iudicium siue curias quocunque modo ratione dicte tutelae seu legati ordinationis et uoluntatis dicti testatoris.

Item prefatus testator expresse uoluit et ordinauit quod si in euentum prefatus *Joannes* eius frater carnalis uel nepotes ipsius testatoris et filii prefati *Joannis* aliquando mollestaret seu traheret ad indicium uel curiam prefatas Dominas *lucretiam Marietam* et *Magdalenam* contra ordinatam uoluntatem atque testamentum testatoris prefati: quod tunc et eo casu ipso facto ille per quod accidiret talis turbatio sit priuatus et cadat a iure prefati hereditatis siue legati dicti testatoris, et filie prefate succedant in dictam portionem modo et forma ut supradictum est. Et si omnes prefati heredes tam *Joannes* frater carnalis dicti testatoris quam filij ipsius *Joannis* et nepotis dicti testatoris quocunque modo molestarent inquietarent uel ad indicium siue curias traherent prefatas dominas *lucretiam Marietam* et *Magdalenam*: tunc expresse et omnino uoluit omnes priuatos esse ipsa hereditate et cadere ab omnia iure suo, prefatasque dominas *Marietam* ac *Magdalenam* statim succedere in omnibus prefatis suis bonis immobilibus que dicti testatoris ac si essent masculi possintque ac valeant dicte Domine *Marieta* atque *Magdalena* hereditatem prefatam transferre et ordinare donare laxare atque dimittere pro earum uoluntate atque arbitrio. Et hanc dixit et uoluit esse testator prefatus suam uoluntatem ad hoc ut prefate Domine *Lucretia Marieta* atque *Magdalena* pacifice et quiete uiuere possint ac valeant in hoc mundo dum placuerit altissimo.

Item uoluit ordinauit prefatus testator quod si Domino Jesu Cristo placeret ipsum superuiuere et habere aliquem

heredem masculum legiptimum ipsum reliquit heredem uniuersalem omnium bonorum suorum tam mobilium quam immobilium cassando et annullando omnia supradicta legata ordinatione tamen dotis filiarum in suo robore permanente siue *D. luc. Mar. et Magd.* nec non et ordine sepulture et aniuersarij.

Item voluit et ordinauit quod post eius obitum ipsius heredes siue in perpetuum annuatim in die sancti Antonij Abbatis XVII d. Januarij teneantur et obligati sint facere pro remedio anima ipsius testatoris unum honestum prandium duodecim pauperibus honerando super hoc eorum conscientias ac obseruationem prefate elemosine et post dictum prandium dent duodenos grossos florentinos dictis pauperibus pro quolibet, causa elemosinae.

Item voluit et ordinauit testator prefatus exequatores sui testamenti ordinationis ac voluntatis dilectam ipsius Contubernalem dominam *lucretiam* supradictam ac nobiles viros florentinos *Antonium tuci maneti et bernardinum Nicolaj del barbisa et Antonium de marabolino rustichi et Andream lamberti de li caluane* [or Siluane] et ne forte post obitum dicti testatoris oriri possit aliqua difficultas lis aut differentia inter filias suas atque heredes et fratrem ipsius testatoris de boni ipsius superius ordinatis ratione successionis cum *Joanne q<sup>m</sup> Jacobi Antonij del pollagiolo* frater eius carnalis tamquam de bonis paternis aut dotis matris utriusque Magistri *Antonij* testatoris et *Joannis* ipsius fratris tamquam de rebus male dispositis ad declarationem mentis omnium posterorum dictus testator asseruit quod de anno d<sup>ni</sup> 1463 uel circa testator prefatus mancipauit se à prefato Joanne eius fratre sicut constat ex instrumento Ser Siluani notarij artis porte Sanctae Mariae: pro ut etiam apparet ad officium dominorum florentinorum et ad officium artis mercantiae. Et ita asseruit et in eius conscientia dixit omnia bona superius

ordinata V<sup>t</sup> unam domum in civitate florentiae valoris mille quingentorum duc. auri uel circa. Et unam possessionem extra ciuitatem in territorio aut committatu pistoriensi valoris et pretij trium millium duc<sup>m</sup> auri uel circa secundum comunem extimationem se adquisiuisse et emisse propriis pecunijs laboribus atque industria post ipsam mancipationem.

Ideo pro uoluntate sua uoluit ac potuit supradicte disponere absque conscientie preiudicio aliquo. Non imo uoluit testator prefatus se privatum intelligi presentem heredem ut matris dote sibi pro rata seu parte pertinente in euentum quod dicti heredes mollestarent D. M. *Lucretiam Marietam* atque *Magdalenam* sed uoluit eandem suam portionem ab ipsius filiabus suis D. M. et M. exigi possit a dictis heredibus tamquam rem suam propriam ab ipso testatore eisdem relictam. Quamque portionem bonorum paternorum quam etiam dotis matris sue dixit se non habuisse sed esse apud *Joannem* fratrem suum carnalem, ordinauit et uoluit testator prefatus quod propter maiorem commoditatem possessionum suarum et utilitatem et pacem dictorum heredum: heredes prefati ipsius d<sup>na</sup> *Marieta* et *Magdalena* ipsius filie teneantur et obligati sint emere certam quantitatem terrarum contiguam certis suis possessionibus ipsius testatoris a *Nicolao Francisci Ser Luce* pro precio et quantitate quatuorcentarum librarum ad plus et minori precio si poterunt cum dicto venditore si componere: De qua quidem emptione fienda dictus testator asseruit se iam conuenisse cum dicto *Nicolao* sed tamen non firmasse pretium. Sed dixit fuisse sibi datam fidem uendendi ab eodem *Nicolao*, Cuiusquidem emptionis precium uoluit et ordinauit ipse retrahi debere de fructibus suarum possessionum, nihil de ipsis uendendo aut minuendo.

Item idem testator dixit quod a certo tempore *petrus*

q<sup>m</sup> eius frater carnalis dum esset in umanis : infirmus tamen et prope mortem sponte et libere et mera sua voluntate et minime subductus ad ipso testatore, coram testibus fide dignis reliquit testatori prefati eandem quantitem terrarum constitutarum in territorio uel comitatu pistoriij post mortem matris testatoris prefati et dicti *petri* valoris trecentarum librarum uel circa commendans eidem testatori dominam *Lisam* ipsius *petri* filiam naturalem quantum potuit, omnemque ipius curam eidem testatori reliquit propter quod. Item testator volens complere voluntati et desiderio ipsius *petri* fratris sui libentissime curam egit ipsius d<sup>ne</sup> *Lise*. Insuper etiam eandem matrimonio tradidit omni studio ac diligentia juxta qualitatem et conditionem prefate d<sup>ne</sup> Dans eidem pro dote de propriis pecuniis testatoris prefati centum quinquaginta libras probate et bone monetae ciuitatis florentinæ.

Propterea idem testator dixit et voluit quod in euentum quod si *Joannes* frater carnalis dicti testatoris supernominatus uel ipsius filij : atque nepotes dicti testatoris et heredes constituti, aliquando uellent petere residuum valoris dictae petiae terrae eidem testatori a *petro* superius nominato eius fratre relicte atque donate V<sup>c</sup> centum quinquaginta libras ultra eas quas dedit ac tradedit in dotem prefate d<sup>ne</sup> *Lise*. Dictus testator non obstante donatione uel legato sibi a dicto *petro* eius fratre carnali facto atque relicto ipse se remittit ad iuris dispositionem et ex nunc se ad dictum ins remittit et transfert non obstantibus etc.

Item idem testator dixit q<sup>m</sup> *Silvester* eius frater carnalis tum uiueret et esset pisis per Chyrographum manus eiusdem *Silvestri*. Idem *Silvester* non subductus non coactus sed sponte libere et de mera sua voluntate reliquit atque donauit eidem testatori quoddam mollendinum ab oleo existens in possessionem dicti testatoris valoris sexaginta



librarum florentinarum uel circa sicut constat ex dicto Chirographo manu ipsius *Siluestri* exarato penes testatorem prefatum.

Propterea Idem testator dixit atque voluit et ordinauit quod si aliquando *Joannes* ipsius testatoris frater carnalis uel filij dicti *Joannis*: atque nepotes testatoris et heredes constituti mollestarent inquietarent uel ad indicium traherent dominas *lucretiam* dicti testatoris uxorem vel *Marietam* et *Magdalenam* ejusdem testatoris et D<sup>na</sup> *lucretia* legiptimas filias et non sineret eas pacifice gaudere usufructum Mollendini prefati, Dum uixerint tunc et eo casu voluit et ordinauit eos cadere ab omni legato et tota prorsus hereditate atque eosdem penitus priuauit et priuat de presenti: reliquens Dom<sup>m</sup> *lucretiam* uxorem suam usufructuariam dumtaxat in uita sua una cum dominabus *Marieta* et *Magdalena* eorundem filiabus D<sup>na</sup> S. *lucretie* et ipsius testatoris. Ipsas uero d<sup>nas</sup> *Marietam* atque *Magdalenam* ex nunc reliquit laxat atque constituit heredes universales omnium bonorum suorum, mobilium et immobilium presentium et futurorum. De quibus omnibus prefate D<sup>a</sup> *Marieta* atque *Magdalena* possint et valeant vendere, alienare, donare, laxare, atque disponere libere ac licite pro earum voluntate atque arbitrio. Et hoc ideo ordinauit testator prefatus ex ratione quod ipse accomodauit ac dedit dicto *Siluestro* eius frater de propriis ipsius testatoris pecuniis super quingentos duc. auri. De quibus nihil aut ullam minimam partem recepit a dicto *Siluestro*. Ideo sicut aparet ex libris apotece dicti testatoris. Id ipsum idem testator inteligi voluit fore et esse easdem universalis heredes cum auctoritate disponendi ut supra etc. quotiescunque *Joannes* dicti testatoris frater carnalis uel eius filij: atque nepotes dicti testatoris et heredes constituti mollestarent inquietarent uel ad indicium seu curias traherent

dictas dominas *lucretiam Marietam* atque *Magdalenam*, tam ratione tutele, quam etiam legati siue ordinationis atque voluntatis ipsius testatoris privans eosdem *Joannem* et eius filios omni hereditate et beneficii legati supradicti et si aliquid contrariaverit eius testatori ordinationibus ac voluntati.

Et hanc esse ultimam suam voluntatem testamentum seu ordinationem dictus testator dixit atque asseruit, cassando et annullando quodcunque aliud testamentum voluntatem seu ordinationem antea factam quacunque modo factum seu factas. Volens idem testator presentem suam voluntatem valere iure testamenti et si non iure testamenti iure codicilli: nel donationis aut quomodocunque omni meliori modo, uia, ratione, iure, causa et forma, sicut potuit ac valuit. Cui presenti testamento voluntati ultime et ordinationi testator prefatus voluit ad maius robor et firmitatem manu propria se subscribere in presentia testium infrascriptorum.

Mandans atque rogans notarium infrascriptum ut de presenti suo testamento et voluntate ultima et ordinatione conficeret publicum instrumentum.\*

\* In the Zibaldone del Migliore (XXV. 392, c. 184) is the following notice: "1496. Ant<sup>i</sup> del Pollaiuolo fece testamento lasciò a Gio: suo fratello carnale et a M<sup>a</sup> Lucretia sua Moglie et alla Marietta e Madd<sup>a</sup> sue figliuole usufruttuarie e se moriva in Roma dove fece Testam<sup>to</sup> disse volere esser sepolto in S. Pietro in Vincola come segul, e se moriva in firenze nella sepolt<sup>a</sup> di suo Padre." [non dice dove]

Ant<sup>s</sup> Tucci Manetti

Bernardus Nicolai del Barbigio

Ant<sup>s</sup> del Mavabottino Rustichi

And: <sup>as</sup> Lamberti delle Calvane

} Nobiles et Cives floren<sup>i</sup>  
} executores d<sup>e</sup> testam<sup>to</sup>.

Ser Baldasar Rocca de Castrovillano not. rogavit. Roma."

## VII

LETTER FROM ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO TO GENTIL VIRGINIO ORSINI, LORD OF MONTE-ROTONDO, WRITTEN FROM ROME 13 JULY, 1494.

[MSS. in the Archives of Casa Orsini.] Published by Luigi Borsari, "L'Arte," 1892. p. 208.

[Outside] allo mio Ill<sup>mo</sup> S<sup>e</sup> Virginio orsino adì xij de luglio 1494.

Inlustrissimo e gienerosso S. mio io pigliero licenza e sichurtia nella umanita vostra poi che a bocha non a data sorta.

E mi fu fatta una inbasciata nello orecchie esendo a ostia da parte di maestro agniolo medicho disse mi per parte della S. vostra che vostra S. arebe auto charo che io facessi la testa di vostra S. de bronzo quanto al naturale io gli rispoi subito che io larej di grazia e chosi rafermo che io mi verro a star dua di a braciano e ritrarovj in disegno poi me la rehero a roma e faremola di bronzo ma più charo arej farnj tuto intero in sun un chaval grosso che vi farej eterno possiamo per la prima fare la testa poi penseremo al tuto.

Magnifico S. mio io mi parto lunedì che sareno a di XIII di luglio e vomene in toschana portomene dua figure di bronzo e voremene andare alle mie possisione che sono XV miglia dischosto a firenze cioe quindicj miglia e per la moria anno fatto che chi viene da roma non si possa achostare a firenze a ventj miglia vorej dalla S. vostra che per amor mio a piero de medicj che fussi chontento che io avessi licenza a potere andare alle mie possisione che sono tra 'l poggio a chaiano e la citta di

pistoia, e credo che ve ne chompiacera volentierj perche sa che io sono stato senpre di quella chasa e pensate che glie 34 annj che io fecj quelle fatiche derchole che sono nella sala del palazo suo che le facemo tra un mio fratello ed io so che le dovete aver vedute.

Jo voglio questo grado dalla S. vostra a cio che io abi qualche chagione di richordarmi della S. vostra.

E più m'achorra che uno mio nipote che io o quj prestò a meser manfredi gli prestò a chamino dua duchati doro e tre charlinj promise gli di rechargliele in sino a roma non la maj fatto se fussi posible quando glia la pagha rimetergli a roma a piero panciaticchi che fa colla S. vostra gri renderebe a questo mio nipote meser manfredi credo che sia vicentino.

Preghevj S. mio che mi perdoniate si o preso sichurta cholla S. vostra che l'afezione grande e sentendo che l'opera mia vi piaque del sepolchro di papa sisto.

Vostro servidore Antonio del pollaiuolo in Roma.

## VIII

## LA SIGNORIA DI FIRENZE A DOMENICO BONSI

Da Firenze, 13 Febraio 1497.

[Arch. d. Rif. di Firenze. Registro di lettere. Filza 102.  
Published by Gaye, Cart. Ined. I. 340.]

Domino Domenico Bonsio oratori.

Rome.

Magnifice orator n<sup>r</sup> chiarissime. Sendo morte alli giorni passati costì Antonio del Pollaiuolo, scultore celeberrimo

et nostro fiorentino; siamo pregati dalla donna sua che vela raccomandiamo per esser restato creditore dicto suo marito di alcuna somma di danari del Cardinale Reverendissimo di Benevento e di monsignore Ascanio, per certe cose a loro lavorate di suo magisterio. Però vogliamo siate con decti R<sup>mi</sup> Cardinali et n<sup>ro</sup> nomine li exhortiate alla satisfactione del dicto Antonio a sua donna et heredi tante volte che, se è possibile, habbino la loro mercede, che essendo stato dicto Antonio nostro cittadino et huomo unico nella arte sua, merita che per sua memoria adiutiamo et la donna sua et heredi suoi, come quelli che sempre havemo in somma estimatione qualunque virtute.

Ex Palatio n<sup>ro</sup>. die XIII feb<sup>r</sup>. 1497.

## IX

COMMISSION, &c, FOR SILVER CROSS  
OF S. GIOVANNI.

[Published in Catalogo del Museo dell' Opera del Duomo  
Firenze, 1904.]

(1)

1457. Febbraio 15.

Disegni fatti per gl'orefici per la croce da farsi di nuovo in S. Giovanni non si mostrino a alcuno senza il partito de consoli e offi di musaico; nella quale deve essere messo il legno della croce di N. S. esistente in detta Chiesa: è annullata detta deliberazione.

[Delib. de' Consoli, 1455-1459, c. 80-81. Spogli Strozzi-  
ani, Arch. di Stato, I. c. 215<sup>t</sup>.]

(2)

1457. Febbraio 22.

Facciasi nella Chiesa di San Giovanni per il pezzo del legno della croce di N. S. quivi esistente molto grande e bello, che non è ornato come si richiede e stando in quella maniera non è manifesto a molti e nessuno sa che sia legno della crocie, una croce grande d'argento etc. Croce grande d'argento da farsi per il legno della Croce di N. S. per la chiesa di San Giovanni si dà a fare a Miliano di Domenico Dei e Antonio di Jacopo del Pollaiuolo, orefici, la metà, e l'altra metà a Betto di Francesco di Betto, orefice.

[Delib. de' Consoli, 1455-1459, c. 82-83. Spogli cit. I. c. 216<sup>r</sup>]

(3)

1457. Aprile 30.

Convenzioni, modo da farsi e disegno della croce da farsi per la chiesa di San Giovanni per mettervi il legno della croce di Nostro Signore: doveva pesare l. 60 in circa e si trattava di mettervi pietre preziose di non molto valore. Miliano Dei e Antonio del Pollaiuolo, orefici, pigliorno a fare la parte inferiore di detta croce e Betto Betti, orefice, la parte superiore.

[Delib. de' Consoli, 1455-1459, c. 97-98. Spogli cit. I. c. 216<sup>r</sup>]

(4)

1459

Una croce d' ariento tutta bianca fatta per la Chiesa di S. Giovanni Battista di peso di l. 141: costò in tutto fior. 3036, 6, 18, 4, de' quali fior. 2006, 3, 13, 7, hebbe Antonio di Jacopo del Pollaiuolo e fior. 1030, 3, 5, Betto di Francesco Betti orafo.

[Libro grande E. 1459, c. 267. Spogli cit. I. c. 10<sup>r</sup>.]

## X

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM JACOPO  
D'ORSINO LANFREDINI TO THE PODESTA OF  
PISTOIA, GIOVANNI DI ANTONIO CANIGIANI.

[Published by Gaye, Cart. Ined. I. 341.]

Io credo vi ricordiate, perche vi trovasti presenti, come per me e per Bartolommeo Valori s'entrò mallevadore all' arte de Mercatanti per Antonio di Jacopo orafo detto il Pollaiuolo, di fiorini 2000 perchè fece a detta Arte la Croce di Santo Giovanni.

## XI

PAYMENT FOR JEWELS EXECUTED  
FOR CINO RINUCCINI.

[Ricordi Storici di Cino di Filippo di Cino Rinuccini dal 1282 al 1460. Published by Giuseppe Aiazzi, Firenze, 1840, p. 251.]

(1)

A dì 14 d'aprile 1462 speso fior. 4 d. 7, sono per un fornimento da cintola d'ariento ebbi da Maso Finiguerra, che pesò 0.3 d.23, lavorato di niello e di traforo, il quale feci mettere a una fetta paonazza, pesò detta fetta 0.2 d.3, in tutto fu 0.6 d.2 in conto al d° Maso fior. 4. 7.

(2)

A dì 7 Luglio 1461 fior. 3. 4. 9 per valuta di S. 50 d'ariento detti a Antonio del Pollaiuolo orafo, per uno fornimento d'ariento bianco da cintola con traforo e niello a 8 cignittoi, pesò 0.2 e la tolsi da lui per dare alla Ginevra che la donassi, alla Sandra una sirocchia quando tornò a casa sua, come è d'usanza.

(3)

A dì 6 Aprile 1462. Pagai contanti fior. 10. 8 a Antonio del Pollaiuolo orafo, sono per d.2 di tremolanti e 2 catanelle d' ariento dorato, comprai da lui per la d. Ginevra per fare fruscoli a campanella.

## XII

COMMISSION &c. FOR DESIGNS FOR EMBROIDERIES OF S. GIOVANNI.

[Published in Catalogo del Museo dell' Opera del Duomo. Firenze, 1904.]

(1)

1466. Agosto 5.

S. Giovanni. Facciassi un paramento di broccato e per maestri del ricamo si eleggano: Coppino di Giovanni di Bramante, Piero da Venezia, Pagolo d'Anversa e Jansicuro di Navarra, etc.

[Delib. de' Consoli, 1462-1468, c. 164-165. Spogli Strozziiani delle scritture dell' Arte de' Mercatanti, I. c. 224<sup>r</sup>.]

(2)

1466. Dicembre 1.

Ricamatori de' paramenti s'appuntino quando non lavorano. Ricamatori due, elezione: Antonio di Giovanni da Firenze e Gianpagolo da Perpignano.

[Delib. de' Consoli, 1462-1468, c. 176-177. Spogli cit. I. c. 224<sup>r</sup>.]

(3)

1466.

Coppino di Giovanni, Giovanni di Jacopo, Giovanni di Morale, Pagolo d' Anguersa, Piero di Piero Veneziano, Antonio di Giovanni da Firenze, Giovanni di



Pelaio di Prignana, ricamatori, lavorano i paramenti di San Giovanni.

[Libro grande I. 1466, c. 236. Spogli cit. I. c. 111<sup>r</sup>.]

(4)

1469. Agosto 9.

Paramenti e fregi ricamati si fanno per S. Giovanni dove lavorano quattro maestri, e si eleggie un garzone.

[Delib. de' Consoli, 1468-1473, c. 48. Spogli cit. I. c. 228<sup>r</sup>.]

(5)

1469. Agosto 9.

Disegni si dipingono per Antonio di Jacopo del Pollaiuolo per i quali se gli paga fior. 90.

[Delib. cit. c. 59. Spogli cit. I. c. 228<sup>r</sup>.]

(6)

1470.

Coppino di Giovanni da Melina di Fiandra, ricamatore. Piero di Piero da Venezia, Pagolo di Bartolommeo da Verona, Niccolò di Jacopo di Francia, Antonio di Giovanni da Firenze, ricamatori, lavorano il paramento di San Giovanni.

[Libro grande L. 1470, c. 294-300. Spogli cit. I. c. 111<sup>t</sup>.]

(7)

1476. Dicembre 4.

Fregi e storie de' paramenti che si fanno di nuovo in S. Giovanni, con figure, si conviene con gl' infrascritti he gli finischino si come gl' havevano fatti e lavorati sino all' hora, cioè con Coppino del g. Giovanni da Mellina, Piero di Piero da Venezia, Pagolo di Bartolomeo da Verona, ricamatori, e Niccolò d' Iacopo, Antonio di Giovanni e Giovanni d' Iacopo vocato Garzone; per finirlo

debbino havere fior. 800, e devono haverli finiti in anni due e otto mesi etc.

[Delib. de' Consoli, 1473-1477, c. 158, e 163. Spogli cit I. c. 239<sup>t</sup>.]

(8)

1480 (?)

Antonio d' Jacopo del Pollaiuolo fa I disegni per i fregi de' paramenti di S. Giovanni e per ciò se gli paga fior. 90.

[Libro grande P. 1480, c. 288. Spogli cit. I. c. 12<sup>t</sup>.]

(9)

1480 Luglio 17.

Paramenti per i quali s'erano fatti ricamare i fregi, si faccino bianchi e secondo il disegno di Francesco Malocchi, tessitore di drappi.—Si danno a fare a Amerigo di Bartolomeo Corsini per D. 20 il braccio quadro, con che metta almeno D. 11 d'oro per braccio.—Di poi gli fu pagato fior. 20 d'oro il braccio.

[Libro di Partiti, 1477-1481, c. 125, 129, 131, 207. Spogli cit. I. c. 247<sup>t</sup>.]

(10)

1487 (?)

Ne' paramenti e fregi della chiesa di San Giovanni si spese fior. 3179 lire 7646 soldi 10 denari 8.

[Libro grande R. 1487, c. 256. Spogli cit. I. c. 12<sup>t</sup>.]

### XIII

#### CONSIGLIA INTORNO ALLA PALLA DELLA LANTERNA DI S. MARIA DEL FIORE

[Published by Cesare Guasti, "La Cupola di S. Maria del Fiore. Firenze, 1857. pp. 111-113.]

(1)

An. 1467, a 19 gennaio.

Operarii opere Sancte Marie del Fiore, etc. intexo che l'edifico della Lanterna esser fornito e conpiuto in perfetione chon ongni e qualunque adornamento, come per adrieto fu ordinato: e considerato che le chastella le quali furono fatte per murare detta Lanterna e tribuna furono di grande spendio, noia, e difficilissime; e veduto quelle che se s'avessino a rifare chosterebbono grandissima quantità di danari: e veduto intexo che dette chastella non si anno più adoperare se nonne per la palla e bottone, el quale s'anno a porre in su detta Lanterna. E considerando che indugiando a fare detta palla, che dette chastella infraciderebbono e arembosi a fare di nuovo; e sarebbe con danno e verghongna di detta Opera. E considerato che a fare e deliberare detta palla è cosa molto maravigliosa e da volerla molto bene considerare e esaminare, perchè molti maestri n'anno già fatto disputa se detta palla s'a a fare di getto o di martello; e veduto intexo e considerato quello che fu da intendere vedere e considerare: volendo e detti operai avere sopra a tutte le predette cose maturo consiglio e perfetta examinatione per fare ottima e perfettissima conclusione; ad onore, lalde e gloria della madre e avochata de' peccatori Vergine Maria, nel cui nome è dedichato et celebratissimo tenpio volcharmente chiamato Sancta Maria del Fiore, al quale tenpio si à a porre nella sommità di detta sua Lanterna detta palla; mandorono e invitorono a dì cinque del presente, per fare disputa e perfetta examinatione e chonclusione per molti venerabili cittadini, e prudentissimi e ottimi maestri intelligenti, etc. E anti, detto dì, nel luogho della loro usata residentia, quivi disputando e

examinando le predette cose: e in utimo dopo lunga e perfetta examinatione tutti e prefati cittadini e maestri, de' quali di sotto si dirà loro nomi, tutti in una vocè e chonclusionone deliberorno e confutorono detti operai che detta palla si facci di gitto più scietta di rame che si può, mettendo con detto rame ottone fine; perche chochiosono la magnificentia e l'eternità del getto. E veduto e detti operai la detta disputa et examinatione volendo anchora avere sopra alle prefate cose maturissimo consiglio per fare perfettissima concluxione, deliberorono a' dì 19 del presente. Invitati a detta disputa tutti e detti gl' infra-scripti cittadini e maestri, de' quali di sotto si dirà loro nomi; e disputando come di sopra in utimo chonchiusono medesimamente, che detta palla si facci di getto, etc. Che per nessun modo o forma si faccia di martello, ma faccasi di getto: e potendosi fare d'un pezzo, si faccia senza alchuno rispiarmo, etc. etc.

Messer Giovanni Chanigiani:

Messer Domenicho Martelli:

Matteo di Marcho Palmieri:

Alexandro Machiavelli:

Jacopo d' Antonio di Tedici:

Bartholomeo di ser Benedetto Fortini:

Carlo di Nichola de' Medici:

Francesco Cigliamochi:

Andrea di Tommoxo Minerbetti:

Giovanni di messer Lorenzo Ridolfi:

Bernardo Jachopi:

Bonacorso di messer Lucha Pitti:

Giovanni di Tommoxo Borghini:

Andrea di Francesco Zati:

Lorenzo di Piero di Cosimo. [Lorenzo de' Medici]

## Maestri

cioè horafi, intagliatori e architettori

Bruno di ser Lapo Mazzei :

Lucha di Simone della Robbia :

Corso . . . . . orafo :

Carlo del maestro Bartolomeo :

Gianotto di Bruno, orafo :

Mino, intagliatore :

Antonio di Taddeo, orafo :

Antonio del Pollaiuolo :

Bancho . . . . . orafo :

Andrea del Verocchio :

Amerigho, horafo :

Taddeo di Ser Bartholomeo :

Zanobi Talani :

Francesco . . . orafo :

Gusto . . . . . orafo :

Giovanni di Bartholommeo, intagliatore.

(2)

An 1468 a 2 dicembre.

Actendentes ad quandam locationem verbotenus factam per operarios etc. Johanni Bartholomei intagliatore e Bartholomeo Fruosini aurificho, cuiusdem bottonis rame e ottone, quod debet poni in Lacterna etc. et intellecto ipsum bottonem esse completum; et volentes solvere et eisdem dare mercedem dicti bottonis, quia fuit locatum dicto Johanni pro pretio quod per operarios qui pro tempore fuerunt, fuerit deliberatum: et advertendo ad dictam locationem, miserunt per plures magistras etc. Dicti magistri simul congregati dederunt in scriptis, quilibet eorum de per se, pretium sibi debendum etc. in hunc modum, videlicet

Io Lucha di Simone della Robbia gudicho che debbano avere fiorini 60 del bottone per insino dove è condotto di bono maestere.

Io Andrea del Verocchio gudicho quello medesimo.

Io Antonio del Polaiolo gudicho che debbono avere fiorini 70 di loro manifattura.

Io Bancho di Filipo, orafo, gudicho ch'abbino avere di loro faticha per insino dove è condotto il bottone fiorini ottanta, etc.

## XIV

COMMISSION, ETC., TO PIERO FOR THE  
VIRTUES OF THE MERCATANZIA

[Published by Jacques Mesnil, "Des figures de Vertus de la Mercanzia," *Miscellanea d'Arte*, I. 1903, p. 43.]

(1)

18 Agosto 1469.

. . . deliberaverunt quod virtus caritatis videlicet figura et imago caritatis que est picta seu designata in pariete seggii sex consiliorum dicte universitatis vel alia figura dicte virtutis, prout videbitur infrascripto pictori, fiat et fieri debeat in dicto loco, colorata et ornata bene et optime prout decet et propterea dictum opus fiendum locaverunt Piero del Verocchio \* [sic] pittori, et quod illam facere teneatur et debeat et perfecisse durante tempore eorum officii et quod propterea custodes actorum dicte universitatis mutuent de pecunia dicte universitatis dicto Piero l. centum p. et ponant eum debitorem.

\* A lapsus calami, explained by the fact that Verocchio was then working at the group of Or S. Michele ordered by the same commissioners.

[Arch. di Stato, Firenze, Mercanzia. Delib. dell' ufficiale e dei Sei di Mercanzia. Libro segnato, 305, c. 44.]

(2)

27 Sep. 1469.

. . . considerato quod per officium dictorum sex fuit locata ad faciendum pictura virtutis caritatis pro illa ponenda in loco ubi est similis pictura in sala magna inferiori Piero. . . [sic] del Pollaiuolo pictori et quod ad hoc ut possit laborare et dare principium dicto operi dicti sex fecerunt mutuare ei l. centum p. a Jeronimo custode actorum dicti universitatis et pro eo habint a Francesco de Cambinis . . . deliberaverunt . . . quod dictis camerarius de dicta pecunia universitatis solvat dicto Jeronimo l. centum cum hoc quod dictus Pierus pictor non possit habere dicta occasione nec sibi solvi possint plures pecunie nec possit vel debeat fieri mercatum et pretium dicti laboris nisi per partitum et deliberationem fiendam per sex et consules quinque maiorum artium qui per tempore fuerint, ut est moris et juris in similibus cum hoc quod dictus Pierus stet . . . [four words illegible] merced. dicti operis, et quod eius frater Antonius stet et remaneat obligatus pro dicta quantitate, ut erat ante et operarii pilastri siti in S. Michaeli in orto videlicet in pariete S. Anne sub signo dicte universitatis sint etiam operarii dicte operis picture.

[Arch. cit. c. 84.]

(3)

18 dec. 1469

Supradicti sex omnibus insimul collegatis in loco ipsorum solite residentie pro infrascriptis tractandis et examinandis simul cum prudentibus infrascriptis viris consulibus quilibet

eorum sue artis videlicet Guidetto de Guidettis pro arte Kalimale, Francesco de Cocchis pro arte cambii, Maso Luca de Albizis pro arte lane, Bernardo de Antinoris pro arte porte S. Marie et Nero de Rinuccinis pro arte aromatorum electis et deputatis . . . ad praticandum, examinandum, intelligendum et conferendum quid faciendum sit de pictura iam incepta de septem virtutibus videlicet tres theologicis et quatuor cardinalibus videlicet an sit persequendum in opere iam incepto per viam picture vel aliter et cui seu quibus locetur tale opus et de mercede debita vel debenda et de virtute caritatis iam picta per Pierum del Pollaiuolo et reliquis circumstantibus. Et visa una ex dictis figuris designiata per Andream del Verocchio et auditis dicto Piero et Antonio ejus fratre et considerato quod plures pictores sunt qui vellent facere et pingere unam ex dictis virtutibus . . . misso inter ipsos sex et consules partito ad fabas neras et albas et detempto omni modo, etc. deliberaverunt et declaraverunt quod totum dictum opus et omnes dicte figure fiende locetur et locentur dicto Piero del Pollaiuolo et quod ipse habeat et habere debeat pro suo labore et mercede et pro lignamine et coloribus et auro et reliquis omnibus pluribus expensis pro dicta figura caritatis iam facta in totum floren. viginti largos. Et quod similiter habeat et habere debeat de reliquis sex figuris predictis restandibus fieri videlicet flor. viginti larg. de qualibet et pro qualibet earum ad omnes suas expensas lignaminum et aliorum quorumcunque. Et quod dictus Pierus teneatur et debeat omnibus tribus mensibus initiandis die primo ianuarii proxime futuri dare perfectas duas et dictis figuris et virtutibus. Et quod ipse teneatur et debeat meliorare et non peiorare a prima figura ad declarationem illorum qui deputabunt ad vigilandum et



operandum quod predicta fierint bene et diligenter, et debito et forma et tempore. Et quod etiam interim durante quolibet ex dictis laboreris etc. de tribus in tribus mensibus ipse Pierus habeat ante opus perfectum duarum figurarum tradendarum omnibus tribus mensibus, videlicet de tempore in tempore a dicta universitate pecunias condecenter et temperate, adeo quod possit ducere et habere necessaria pro ipso opere perficiendo et etiam ultra pro suis indigentis discrete habendo semper respectum ad opus factum adeo quod non solvatur sibi plus quam vel idem quod laboraverit sed quod semper dicta universitas sit debitor et satis. Et quod semper finitis et positis duabus figuris satisfiat sibi integraliter de dictis duabus figuris et fiat nova reiteratio solutionis de reliquis ut sopra. Et quod etiam dictus Pierus teneatur prestare fidem de bene serviendo et perficiendo opere et de faciendo debitum in omnibus.

Et hoc presente intelligente et ratificante dicto Piero et Antonio eius fratre cum eo . . .

(Delib. of 18 dec. 1469. Arch. cit. c. 159<sup>t</sup>.)

(4)

Dec. 21, 1469.

Andrée . . . [sic] del Verrocchio sculptori et pro eo Boninsegne de Actavantibus l. octo p. pro mercede et labore unius figure virtutis fidei per eum facte pro designo virtutum pingendarum et ponendarum in sala magna domus dicte universitatis quam quantitatem l. otto dictus Boninsegna teneatur et debeat ponere ad computum ubi habet debitorem dictum Andream vel dictam universitatem de libris XXV mutuatis dicto Andrée per ipsum Boninsegnam occasione figure fidei per dictum Andream per

dictam universitatem in pilastro dicte universitatis sito in pariete oratorii S. Anne civitatis Florentie.

[Arch. cit. c. 165<sup>t</sup>.]

(5)

June 18. 1470.

Botticelli pittoris fl. XL pro parte [in margin]

Supradicti sex insimul etc. advertentes quod, dato quod de mense decembris proxime preteriti per tunc officium sex et consules quinque maiorum artium, servatis servandis, fuerit locata pictura virtutum in sala magna terrena domus dicte universitatis Piero . . . [sic] del Pollaiuolo pictori ad rationem fl. 20 larg. pro qualibet, nichilominus postea de mense maii proxime preteriti per medium domini Thomaxii de Soderinus.

Sandro di Mariano [in margin].

[Arch. cit. c. 147.]

(6)

Aug. 2, 1470.

Piero Jaobi del Pollaiuolo pictori fl. viginti quinque larg. pro residuo et integrali satisfactione . . . picture et laborerii . . . duarum figuraram, videlicet secunde et tertie videlicet temperantie et fidei. . .

[Arch. cit. Libro Segnato, 307 c. 31].

(7)

Aug. 18, 1470.

Sandro Mariano Botticello pictori fl. decem larg. pro resto flor. XX larg. eidem debitos a dicta universitate pro pictura per eum facta de virtute fortitudinis in sala domus dicti universitatis.

[Arch. cit. c. 41<sup>t</sup>.]

## XV

PAYMENT FOR SILVER CANDLESTICKS FOR  
S. GIOVANNI.

(1)

S. Gio. Candellieri d'argento fatti nuovamente da Ant<sup>o</sup> di Jacopo del Pollaiuolo pesorno L. 88 oncie 5. Erano con figure smalti etc. si da a d<sup>o</sup> Ant<sup>o</sup> p. manifattura di d<sup>i</sup> Candellieri. F. 17 p. libra etc.

[Spogli Strozzi I. c. 230<sup>t</sup>.]

(2)

Candellieri due d'argento d'altezza di b<sup>a</sup> 2 $\frac{1}{3}$  luno si fanno p. la chiesa di S. Gio. da Antonio di Jacopo del Pollaiuolo orafo e costano F. 1578, L. 3, s. 6.

[Spogli Strozzi II. c. 112<sup>t</sup>.]

(3)

Candellieri d'argento fatti ultimamente p. la chiesa di S. Gio. da Antonio di Jacopo del Pollaiuolo pesorno L. 88 o.5 erano con figure e smalti e si pagò a d<sup>o</sup> Ant<sup>o</sup> p. manifattura di d<sup>i</sup> Candellieri F. 17 per Libbra l'anno 1470.

[Spogli Strozzi II. c. 120<sup>t</sup>.]

## XVI

PAYMENT FOR SILVER HELMET FOR THE  
COUNT OF URBINO.

Antonio d'Jacopo detto Antonio del Pollaiuolo orafo d'e<sup>r</sup> dare a di xxiiij. di luglio fior. novanzette sol. xij. den. xx. a oro larghi : sono per la monta di libre xj. d'ariento e one

11 den. 16di fine per libra resta el fine libr. 10 onc.—den. 8 a fiorini 8 $\frac{3}{4}$  larghi la libr. del popolino—el quale se gli dà perchè se gli alochè l'elmo che si dona al signiore Chonte d'Urbino.

[Nel libro delle spese per l'impresa di Volterra—Dieci di Balìa, 1472. Giornale a c. 37. Quoted by Milanese. Vasari, III. 298.]

## XVII

COMMISSION TO PIERO OF FAÇADE OF  
FOUNTAIN IN PALAZZO DELLA SIGNORIA.

[Published by Gaye, Cart. Ined. I. 578.]

Item dederunt et locaverunt vigore dictae legis Dominicho et Sandro Marini, pictoribus, faciam sale audientie dominorum dicti palatii ad pingendum et ornandum pro ornamento dicti palatii.

Item locaverunt Pietro, vocato Perugino, et Blaxio Antonii Tucci, pictoribus, faciam sale palatii dictorum dominorum versus plateam, videlicet faciam fenestrac, ad faciendum et pingendum; solvendum salarium ut in deliberatione de Dominicho del Grillandaio continetur.

Item locaverunt faciam putei dicto sale Piero Jacobi del Pollaiuolo pictori etc.

## XVIII

COMMISSION TO ANTONIO FOR SILVER BASIN  
FOR THE PALAZZO DELLA SIGNORIA.

[Published by Gaye, Cart. Ined. I. 471.]

MCCCCLXXIII 11 januar.

A Antonio di Iacopo del Pollaiuolo si dà a fare un bacino grande d' argento per la Signoria.

[Regesta Florentina Internam Reipublicae Historiam spectantia ab anno mcccxxv usque ad annum MD.]

## XIX

COMMISSION &c. FOR RELIEF OF SILVER  
ALTAR OF S. GIOVANNI.

[Published in Catalogo del Museo dell' Opera del Duomo, Firenze, 1904.]

(1)

1477 Luglio 24.

Si dà autorità a' Consoli e ufficiali di mosaico di allogare far fare compire e fornire l' altare d' ariento di S. Gio<sup>l</sup> Batt<sup>a</sup>, cioè le due teste al dossale nel modo e forma che sta al presente el dossale, con quattro storie che vi mancono, cioè in verso la porta del Battesimo due storie che sieno l' Annunziazione la Natività e il Parto, le dette due storie secondo il disegno et il modello che si faranno, la 3<sup>a</sup>, che riguarda verso l'opera di S. Gio<sup>l</sup>. la cena la Donzella che balla e quando gl'è tagliata la testa di S. Gio. Bat<sup>a</sup> adornate tutte le quattro storie con figure di più che mezzo rilievo e faccino che sieno finite per tutto Aprile 1478 etc.

[Delib. de' Consoli 1473-1477, c. 211. Spogli Strozzi I. c. 240<sup>t</sup> - 241<sup>r</sup>.

(2)

1477, Agosto 2.

Paghisi fior. 6 a *Verrocchio* orefice per due storie fatte per lui per fare le teste del dossale dell' altare della chiesa di S. Gio<sup>l</sup>, con il modello e similitudine del quale si dovevano fare dette storie e i detti modelli dovevano rimanere all' opera di S. Gio<sup>l</sup>.

Item a *Antonio del Pollaiolo* paghisi fior. 8 per tre altre storie fatte per detta occasione.

[Delib. de' Consoli, 1473-1477, c. 215. Spogli cit. I. c. 241<sup>r</sup>.]

(3)

1477 (?)

Antonio di Salvi e Francesco di Giovanni, compagni, orafi in Vacchereccia, vogliono fare due storie del dossale d'argento di S. Gio<sup>i</sup>, cioè il Convito e la Decollazione, di peso di libbre 30 d'ariento, a fiorini 15 la libbra e quello pesasse più delle dette libbre 30 gli fusse pagato per ariento etc. Gli è concesso.

[Filza 6 dell' Arte de' Mercatanti di Provisioni e scritture di più sorti dal 1463 al 1477, c. 238. Spogli. cit. I. c. 133<sup>t</sup>.]

(4)

1477, Agosto 18.

Si dà a fare a Antonio di Salvi e Francesco di Gio<sup>i</sup> compagni, orefici, una testa o lato del dossale dell' altare d'argento della chiesa di S. Gio<sup>i</sup> Batt<sup>a</sup>, cioè il Convito e la Decollazione, al modello e conforme al modello di cera presentato per loro a' consoli, e ancora le cornice sovgi basi e capitelli etc.

[Delib. de' Consoli, 1477, c. 215. Spogli cit. I. c. 241<sup>r</sup>.]

Si dà a fare a Bernardo di Bartolomeo Vanni orefice, l'altra testa o lato del dossale di detto altare, cioè l'Annunziazione, Natività e Parto di S. Gio<sup>i</sup>. Batt<sup>a</sup>, al paragone del modello di cera da farsi per detto Bernardo, sovgi etc.

[Delib. de' Consoli, 1473-1477, c. 216. Spogli cit. I. c. 141<sup>r</sup>.]

(5)

1478, Gennaio 13

Bernardo di Bartolomeo di Cenni, orefice, faccia le storia dell' Annunziazione, et Andrea di Michele del Verrocchio

faccia la storia della Decollazione di S. Gio<sup>i</sup> Bat<sup>a</sup>, Antonio d' Iacopo del Pollaiuolo faccia la storia della Natività et Antonio di Salvi e Franc<sup>o</sup> di Gio<sup>i</sup> compagni, faccino la storia del Convito di S. Gio<sup>i</sup> Bat<sup>a</sup>; secondo il modello e dossale antico, excepto che le figure che sono sode sieno vote, nel resto devono essere della medesima grandezza etc. come sono quelle che sono in detto dossale e devono fare ancora tutte le cornice sovagi pilerie basi fregi e capitelli, come quelli del detto dossale vecchio, e tutto alla bontà di perfetti maestri, e devono haverle finite per tutto il dì 20 di Luglio prossimo a ragione di fior. 15 per libbra etc.

[Libro di partiti segnato C. 1477-1481, c. 7 e c. 20. Spogli cit. I. c. 248<sup>r</sup>.]

(6)

1478, Dicembre 30.

Ant<sup>o</sup> del Pollaiuolo e Andrea di Michele del Verrocchio finischino drento a certo tempo le storie pigliate a fare.

[Libro di partiti segnato C. 1477-1481, c. 61, 63. Spogli cit. I. c. 245<sup>t</sup>.]

(7)

1480.

Andrea del Verrocchio, scultore, finisce la storia del dossale d'ariento, la quale pesò l. 30 d. 4; per la quale in tutto se gli pagò fior. 397 l. 21 s. 1.

Antonio di Salvi et . . . , orafi, finiscono la storia del dossale d'ariento, la quale pesò l. 32 d. 4 e d<sup>i</sup> 18; per la quale in tutto se gli pagò fior. 384, s. 12, d. 10.

(Libro grande P. 1480, c. 274. Spogli cit. I. c. 12<sup>t</sup>)

Bernardo di Bartolommeo di Cenni, orafo, finisce la storia del dossale d'ariento, la quale pesò l. 36 d. 11; per la quale in tutto se gli pagò fior. 475, l. 2, s. 5, d. 10.

(Libro grande P. 1480, c. 275. Spogli cit. I, c. 12<sup>t</sup>)

Antonio d'Iacopo del Pollaiuolo et . . . orafi, finiscono la storia del dossale d'ariento, la quale pesò l. 29, d. 3, d<sup>i</sup> 5; per la quale in tutto se gli pagò fior. 487, l. 1, s. 16, d. 4.

[Libro grande P. 1480, c. 288. Spogli cit. I. c. 12<sup>t</sup>.]

## (8)

1483, Aprile 26.

Si paga danari a Antonio del Pollaiuolo Bernardo di Cenni Antonio di Salvi e Andrea del Verrocchio per rassettare e fare le storie che feciono nell' altare di S. Giovanni.

[Delib. de' Consoli, 1482-1484. c. 48. Spogli cit. I. c. 251<sup>t</sup>.]

## (9)

1483. Maggio 27.

Cornice e capitelli si danno a fare per l'altare d'argento di S. Giovanni.

[Delib. de' Consoli, 1482-1484, c. 53. Spogli, cit. I. c. 251<sup>t</sup>.]

## XX

LETTER FROM THE OPERAI DI S. JACOPO,  
PISTOIA, TO LORENZO DEI MEDICI

11 Marzo 1477 (N.S. 1478).

Magnifice Vir e benefactor nr singularissime post debit recommendat. Nelle cose occorrenti ci bisogna afaticare la V.M.; et questo siè che doppo la morte della buona memoria di Monsignor di Thyano, nostro dilectissimo compatriota per memoria della sua Reverendissima S. e per benefitii ricevuti questa Ciptà da lui, parve qui alla



comunità fare demonstratione, et per n<sup>ri</sup> consigli fu ottenuto per sua Sepoltura et memoria si dovesse spendere lire mille cento e commisse a noi Ciptadini che facessimo fare modelli, et quelli facti si presentassero al consiglio et quello il consiglio elegiesse, si dovesse prehendere. Il perchè al consiglio fu presentati cinque modelli, fra quali nenera uno dandrea del varrocchio, il quale piaceva più che altro; et il consiglio dè commissione a noi, dovessimo praticare di pregio con dco. Andrea. Ilchè facemo, et lui ci chiese ducati trecento cinquanta, et inteso noi la chiesta sua li demo licentia, et nulla saldamo seco; perchè non avevamo commessione spendere più che lire mille cento. Et di poi desiderandosi per noi che dca. opera avesse effecto, ricorrimo al consiglio, dicendo che bisognava maggior quantità di denari a questa opera che lire mille cento, volendo una cosa degna. Il consiglio inteso il vero nuovamente diliberò, et diecci auctorità potessimo spendere quella quantità di denari ci paresse per dca. opera, perchè fuse bella. et potessimo allogarla a dco. andrea et a ogni altro che ci paresse. Il perchè noi intendendo essere qui piero del pollaiuolo fumo seco, et preghamolo ci dovesse fare modello di tale opera; il che ci promesse fare, et per questo abbiamo diferito ad alogare dca. opera. Ora è seguito che enostri M. Commissari, per fare che dca. opera avesse effecto, lanno allogata al dco. andrea per dco. pregio et modo; et noi, come figliuoli dubidientia, a questa et a ogni altra cosa che loro faccessino et deliberasseno, sempre staremo contenti et ubidienti: et così alloro nabbiamo scripto. Ora piero del pollaiuolo à facto il modello che per noi li fu imposto; il quale ci pare più bello et più dengnio darte et più piace a contento di mess. piero fratello di dco. Monsignore et di tucta la sua

famiglia, et simul di noi et di tucti e ciptadini della nra ciptà, che lanno veduto, che non fa quello dandrea o dalchuno altro, et per questo abbiamo preghato decti commissari, che se paga loro usare alchuna cortesia a dco. andrea, et pigliare quello di dco. piero, ciò ne rarebbeno contento et piacere assai. Ora à voi, come a nro protectore, mandiamo e decti modelli, perchè di simile cose et dogni altra navete pienissima intelligentia, et siamo certi desiderate l'honore di decto Monsignore et sua famiglia et di tucta la nra. Ciptà; che essendo vero quello ci pare, ci prestate il vro. aiuto et favore al nro. desiderio, che non intende ad altro che allo honore della Ciptà, et alla memoria di dco. Monsignore. Bene valete. Ex pistorio die xi. Martii, 1477.

Vriservidori Operari di San Jacopo officiali della Sapientia et Ciptadini electi pel consiglio sopra dea. opera in pistoia.

Magnifico viro Laurentio de Medicis benefactoris nostro precipuo florentie.

[Arch. Med. Famiglia privata Lettere. Filza 35. Gaye, Cart. Ined. i. 256.]

## XXI

VALUATION OF A RELIQUARY [MADE BY JACOPO OF PISA FOR THE CHURCH OF S. GIMIGNANO] BY ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO

[Published by Luigi Pecori, "Storia della Terra di S. Gimignano." Firenze, 1853, p. 637.]

A. d. xvii Febraio, 1480.

Fassi fede per me Antonio d' Jacopo l'orafo detto del Pollaiuolo chome avendo veduto uno horlichieri fatto per

Jachopo Horafo da Pisa e in chompagnia di Nofri hoperaio e Antonio di Salvi abiamo veduto che sechondo un disegno che ci mostrorono l'opera cioè e'lavoro è stato chondotto secondo el disegno, e inteso el pregio a spesa d' Jacopo sopradetto cioè ariento horo e fattura che lui abi fatto in verso di voi suo dovere, cioè che non a di quel del chomune chosa che vabi a sodisfare.

Ma bene vero che se voi dicessi, se si potessi fare meglio o chome noi siamo uxi a lavorare simili lavori che voi nollo paghareste chon fior. 15 larghi la lib. perchè sarebe ragionevole, e perchè none interamente gli smalti al modo chome noi facciamo di qua ci pare che stia bene el pregio sopradetto cioè fior. dodici larghi la libra, e massime sendo l'ariento a leggha di Firenze e per questo Antonio di Salvi orafo e io Antonio supradetto gudichiamo insieme chome si soscriverà qui e sarà in questo medeximo gudicio la channa pesa oncie dicotto cioè una libbra e mezzo che facciamo che la lib. de la channa la fattura gli sia paghata fior. tre larghi la libra, in tutto fior. quatro e mezzo per tuto de la channa.

Fassi fede per me Antonio di Salvi orafo sopradetto e so chontento al sopradetto gudichato chol sopradetto Antonio d'Jachopo detto di sopra, e però mi sono soscripto di mia propria mano 1480. Fede della valuta di uno calice doro appartenente all'opera e ciborio dove sta il dito di San Gimignano.

[Carte sciolte della Cancelleria, S. Gimignano, Filza T. No. 64.]

## XXII

## TOMB OF INNOCENT VIII

(1)

EXTRACT FROM MSS. DIARY.

[Published by Torrigio, "Le Sacre Grotte Vaticane," p. 214-217]

Anno 1498, feria 3, die 30 Januarii corpus sive cadaver fel. rec. Innocentii Papæ VIII quod post ejus obitum fuit juxta murum altaris B. Mariæ Virg. Chori, ubi canonici et clerus Basilicæ S. Petri de Urbe singulis diebus officium peragere convenerunt, antequam statuam metalli Sixtus Papa IV capellam suam pro choro eorum erigeret et ordinaret fuit ex deposito hujusmodi circa horam vesperorum extractum ex capsâ, in qua iacebat et compertum integrum, illæsum, uno pede dempto quia in pedicis habuit aliquam læsionem, in ipsa capsâ positum super una mensa super duobus tripedibus in dicto choro, juxta depositum hujusmodi ordinata ibi per canonicos et clerum prædictæ Basilicæ, Vigiliæ mortuorum. De quibus locis postea extractus fuit integer, ex dicta capsâ adhuc omnia Pontificalia paramenta habens illæsa, et positus et consutus in una petia de tafettano violacco et expositus in capsam œream ad memoriam tibi constructam.

(2)

PROCESS VERBAL MADE BY GRIMALDI, ARCHÆOLOGIST, ON THE  
TRANSFERENCE OF THE TOMB OF INNOCENT VIII, IN 1606.

[Published in "Arch. Stor. dell' Arte," IV. 1891, 368.]

Aperitio Sepulcri Innocentii Octavi

Die quinta septembris MDCVI, hora XIX Illustrissimi  
et R<sup>mi</sup> d<sup>ni</sup> Cardinales fabricæ novi templi a S.D.N. deputati

cupientes ut in hac Basilicæ demolitione ossa summorum Pontificum, memoriæ, et alia notatu digna sedulo semarentur, deputavit R<sup>mos</sup> d<sup>nos</sup> Darium Buccarium et Alloysium cittadinum canonicos, dn<sup>um</sup> Nicolaum Amatam beneficiatum, qui hujusmodi curam haberent, sine quibus cæmentarii tumulos et marmoreas arcas quæ in media Basilica et lateralibus locis humi sepultæ erant, nullatenus aperire deberunt.

Quare, eodem R. d. Alloysio præsentē, fuit aperta urna sive capsula cænea sepulcri Innocentii Papæ Octavi, in nave S<sup>mi</sup> Sudarii et inspectum corpus ejusdem Innocentii integrum, sed corruptum, ac involutum panno serico rubro de raso, indutum preciosis paramentis pontificalibus auri insertis ad perlas cum auri, frigio et chirothecis. Corpus magnæ erat staturæ. Intra capsam ad pedes Pontificis repertum est numisma cæreum signatum imagine ipsius Innocentii ad vivum expressa, induti pluviale cum litteris in gyro "Innocentius Januensis VIII Pont. Max." In altera parte tres imagines mulierum cum litteris "Justitia, Pax, Copia." Quod numisma habuit R. d. Alloysius cittadinus Canonicus plus ostensurus Ill<sup>mo</sup> et R<sup>mo</sup> Alphonso Cardinali Vicecomiti, uno ex cardinalibus fabricæ deputatis. Arca fuit inde clausa, et in novo templo, in aditu Sacelli S. Gregorii juxta Clementem VIII. reposita.

Super quibus . . . Actum ubi supra, præsentibus dominis Joanne Belluccio et Paulo Baciocco, testibus rogatis. Ego Jacobus Grimaldus notarius rogatus scripsi, subscripsi et signavi manu propria.

[Bibl. Barberini, XXXIV, 150, fol. 178.]

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